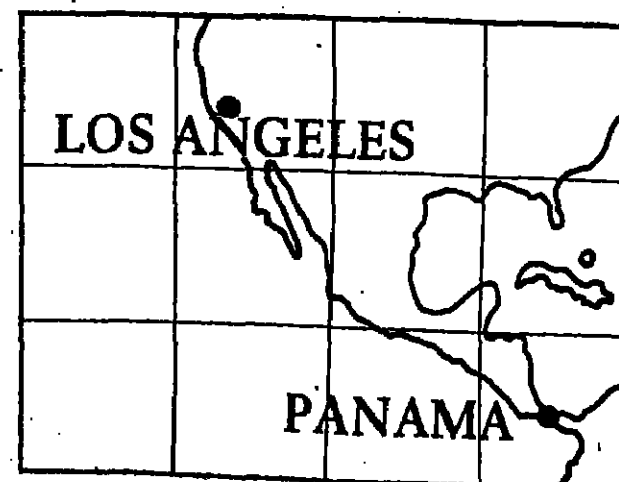


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Hussein's 'terms' for joining peace talks

Jerusalem Post Staff
Jordan's King Hussein is contemplating the following scenario for his entry into negotiations with Israel:

Progress towards withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon.

Jordan expresses its intention to negotiate.

Israel announces a confidence-building gesture (such as a settlement moratorium).

Negotiations begin.
U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.), who met with Hussein in Amman last week, told Prime Minister Menachem Begin on Friday that he had outlined this scenario to the king and had asked him "Where would you differ?"

"I wouldn't," was Hussein's reply.

Tsongas compared Hussein's state of mind today to that of the late president Anwar Sadat of Egypt a month after his visit to Jerusalem in 1977. Tsongas told Begin he had come away with "a very similar impression of a man who is at peace with himself and with his role in history," a man who had come to "an acceptance of what had to be."

The prime minister rejected the idea of a halt to settlements. Israel was not setting out any preconditions of its own, he told the visiting senator, and Jordan should not do so either. Both sides should simply agree to sit down and talk.

Tsongas was in Israel at the invitation of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Tsongas deliberately used the term "moratorium" rather than

"freeze" in his conversation with Begin, because it carries within it a clear connotation of transience.

Begin spoke of Israel's historic right to settle Judea and Samaria, and of the value of the settlements as a security belt. He stressed that there had been no ouster of Arabs and no settlement on tilled land.

The premier said Israel would welcome Hussein's joining the peace process within the Camp David framework. Begin noted that the Camp David accords themselves invited him to join, and he had been asked to come in repeatedly since then.

Tsongas, while plainly hopeful of an imminent move towards talks on Hussein's part, cautioned that there were still problems and pitfalls. He was especially concerned over the situation in Lebanon where he feared that the Syrians might thwart a solution.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir last week said it was an "illusion" for people in Israel and abroad to set their hopes on King Hussein obtaining an all-Arab mandate, or a mandate from the PLO, to deal with Israel.

In an address in Jerusalem, Shamir said, "Even the most 'moderate' Israeli would reject proposals that Hussein would produce under such a mandate."

Dr. William Quandt, top Middle East expert on the National Security Council under the Carter Administration and currently with Washington's Brookings Institute, said in Jerusalem last week that

(Continued on page 2.)

On a tightrope in the Shouf

By ASHER WALLFISH
and DAVID LANDAU

Israel finds itself on the horns of a dilemma in the Shouf Mountains in Lebanon as local Druse and Christian Phalange forces trade fire almost daily. Israel feels it cannot let down the Phalangists, since they are the political group in Lebanon pushing most forcefully for a peace settlement with Israel. At the same time, Israel dare not alienate the Druse; rather it must try to woo them away from the smothering embrace of the Syrians.

It was this dilemma, and the growing unpopularity of the IDF's continued deployment in the Shouf, that preoccupied the cabinet at a meeting last week.

"Walking on eggs" was how one minister later described Israel's efforts to maintain a delicate balance in difficult terrain, inclement climate, and a complex political and strategic situation in the Lebanese mountains.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin stressed that Israel must stay put in the Shouf until the Syrians agreed to

a mutual, partial pullback by both armies. He chided ministers for proposing unilateral withdrawal by the IDF. This could only weaken Israel's position, the premier said.

But the cabinet, after hearing extensive reports from top military officers and intelligence chiefs, resolved that the IDF's involvement in the internecine strife in the area must be kept to the absolute minimum.

Cabinet sources said if the IDF were to keep aloof altogether, carnage and mayhem would very likely ensue. The orders to the army, therefore, were to do what was necessary to maintain security — and steer clear of any additional, non-essential involvement.

The cabinet sources pointed out that the IDF had in fact sustained very few casualties in the Shouf Mountains. Most of Israel's fatalities and injuries had been incurred these past weeks in the coastal area and around Aley on the Beirut-Damascus road.

In the military and intelligence

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THE LATEST NEWS FROM ISRAEL
Published in Jerusalem
צא לאור ביחשלים

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President Ronald Reagan and President Navon hold a fireside chat in the Oval Office of the White House last week (report page 4). (UPI Telephoto)

The fuss about the SAM-5s

IN RETROSPECT one wonders what the fuss was all about.

The army spokesman announced the Syrians were preparing to deploy SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles deep inside that country, and the world stood on its hind legs. There was comment, analysis and interpretation in newspapers and on the radio around the world.

Why should an announcement from the Israel Army spokesman draw so much attention from so many?

The world is nervous. Bellicose statements from Israel have a certain credibility that is making the world nervous. The pattern in Israel's behaviour has become familiar: note of fact; warning of danger; threat of action unless situation is corrected; action.

Thus when Israel announces its concern over the presence of SAM-5, long-range high-altitude, radar-homing, anti-aircraft missiles somewhere deep inside Syria, one can almost smell cordite in the air. It is taken almost for granted that this could mean a conflict of undefined proportions between Israel and Syria — a conflict the world believes will be instigated by Israel.

It is difficult, however, to see any real justification for the disproportionate reaction to the report. The missiles, though they have been upgraded, periodically, are 20 years old, they have never before been deployed outside the Soviet Union, but their arrival in this region should come as no surprise to those who have watched T-72 tanks and MIG-25 fighters arrive in this part of the world without hysterical comment.

DEFENCE MINISTER Ariel Sharon and Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan played down the dangers to

NEWS ANALYSIS
Hirsh Goodman

Israel posed by the SAM-5s in public appearances last week, saying it was more an American, Jordanian, Iraqi problem, than an Israeli one. Both said that Israel had solutions to the problem if a solution was needed.

Sharon (of course) went one step further, and said that not a single Israeli aircraft-fighter, transport or passenger plane will alter its course because of the missiles. "We have the answers in case of need," Sharon stressed.

Perhaps it is Israel's definition of "in case of need" that is responsible for the disproportionate reaction of not only the international media, but also of foreign governments to Israel's expression of concern. Our "needs" have begun to make the world nervous. This, in essence, means that Israel over the past few years, specifically since the decision to bomb the Iraqi nuclear reactor, has managed to attain a credible defence posture. What this is doing to our foreign relations is another question.

Those out there apparently believe that we mean what we say. The question is why are we saying it.

In the case of the missiles, speculation has been rampant, and to this day the official explanations of why the army spokesman was

told to issue the SAM-5 statement, and by whom, remain confused.

Was Israel warning against the influx of highly sophisticated, new-generation military technology into Syria? Was it warning the Syrians not to be more obdurate than is decently necessary in working out a solution for Lebanon? Was Israel signalling the Americans to note the growing Soviet commitment to Syria, and indicating that the U.S. administration cannot afford to withdraw its support for Israel if it hopes to maintain a balance of power in the Middle East? Was Israel, in fact, warning the Jordanians and the Iraqis of the new threat facing them? For the SAM-5s are as much a danger to those two countries as they are to Israel, and the SAM-5 statement may have been intended to undermine any possible alliance between the three countries. Or was it intended to demonstrate to the Syrians and the Soviets once again that they are being watched with competent eyes? Perhaps any or all of these are correct. They all make sense.

IT SEEMS, however, that the process that resulted in the spokesman's statement was less calculated. At a meeting of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee last week, opposition leader Shimon Peres asked Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir

(Continued on page 2.)

NEWSSTAND PRICES IN LOCAL CURRENCY

Australia	\$1.20	Italy	L.1,400
Canada	\$1.48	South Africa	R41.20
Denmark	DKR.00	Sweden	SKR.50
Germany	DM2.00	Switzerland	SR2.30
Holland	DF3.00	United Kingdom	80p
Israel	IS22.00	United States	\$1.25

U.S. idea may end deadlock

An American proposal for overcoming the deadlock on the agenda in the Israel-Lebanon talks received positive reactions from both sides last week.

Israel has been seeking normal relations with Lebanon in the talks on withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon, but Beirut has been under pressure from other Arab governments to restrict relations.

The Israel cabinet on Sunday did not take an official stand on the U.S. proposal. This will come after Lebanon replies, it is reported.

The feeling in Jerusalem on Sunday was that there was a good chance of the negotiations getting underway.

The three teams at the negotiations, which are being held alternately in Haifa, near Beirut, and in the northern Israeli border town of Kiryat Shmona, issued a joint communiqué last week which referred to "new ideas," a phrase which is seen as a hopeful sign. The communiqué termed the negotiations last week as "fruitful."

The U.S. draft agenda is an amalgam of earlier Israeli and Lebanese ideas for points for the agenda. It does not use the word "normalization" in the disputed paragraph on future relations

between Israel and Lebanon, but instead lists some of the elements of normalization that Israel wants to negotiate.

It is said that the key point in the U.S. suggestions is that it leaves room for "normalization" to be on the agenda under that term itself or under a heading such as "mutual relations" without listing details.

In Jerusalem on Friday, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir told the Army Radio that "Arab pressure was keeping Lebanon from deciding what is good for it." He said that the normalization of relations with Israel provided Lebanon with "a chance to free itself of its internal conflicts."

He charged the Arab states with wanting to keep Lebanon internally divided, saying that "if Lebanon rejects normalization, it will fall back into the clutches of the Arab states, and nothing will have changed." He said that many of Lebanon's Muslims agreed that a solution to Lebanon's internal troubles rested with a lasting peace with Israel.

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said in the Knesset last week that nothing he had revealed to the press in mid-December had an adverse effect on the negotiations with Lebanon.

On the contrary, he said, the negotiations were now proceeding with full force, with the declared goal of arriving at security and normalization arrangements between the two countries.

As to the rest, patience and coolness were called for. After all, it had taken 15 years to reach a peace agreement with Egypt.

Sharon was replying to a motion for the agenda by Elazar Granot (Alignment-Mafam), who called on the prime minister to replace Sharon both as a representative of Israel in the negotiations with Lebanon and as defence minister. The motion was defeated by a vote of 54-45.

Granot charged that from the beginning Sharon had distorted the facts about the war and that last month he had leaked information to the press about his contacts with the Lebanese that could have torpedoed negotiations. Press reports about a "sensational breakthrough," based on these leaks, had caused the Lebanese no end of embarrassment, Granot said.

Compiled from reports by David Landau and Aryeh Rubinstejn.

(See Controversy P. 13)

Contacts with Soviet reported

The cabinet secretary refused to comment on Sunday about reports that Israel has been trying to initiate a dialogue with the Soviet Union. Israel Radio says that since Yuri Andropov came to power Israel has sought — through direct and indirect contacts — to inform the Soviet Union that Jerusalem is interested in beginning a dialogue and that this could contribute to the peace process. Moscow broke relations in 1967. Rumania's President Ceausescu was said to have been involved in one of the contacts, made when it became known that the Soviet Union intended to supply the SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles to Syria.

HUSSEIN'S TERMS

(Continued from page 1)

Jordan will probably announce "within the next month or two" that it is ready to join the Middle East peace process — provided that it is given U.S. assurances that Israel will halt all settlement activities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip while talks are in progress.

Speaking at the American Cultural Centre in the capital, Quandt said that recent discussions in Amman had persuaded him that, provided a settlement freeze could be assured, "we are relatively close to the moment when King Hussein is going to make an announcement publicly and without ambiguity that he is ready to enter into negotiations."

A new element in the Middle East equation arose last week when Iraqi Deputy Premier Tarek Aziz said that Iraq is urging the PLO to enter into negotiations with Israel as part of an effort to arrive at a peaceful solution of the Palestine conflict.

In an interview with the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Aziz is quoted as saying that Iraq "is not opposed to a peaceful resolution of the problem and therefore not opposed to negotiations between Israel on the one hand and the PLO and its Arab partners on the other."

PLO chief Yasser Arafat is to be ready to join the Arab-Israeli peace process in March, following "a U.S. promise that 97 per cent of the Israeli occupied West Bank of the Jordan would be relinquished."

The report was carried in the independent Kuwaiti daily *al-Qabas*, quoting "informed Jordanian

sources and Palestinians close to the PLO leadership."

The newspaper said that Arafat, who arrived in Amman from Damascus on Friday, was due to discuss with Hussein the working details of joining the peace talks on the basis of "new ideas" communicated by the U.S. administration.

These provide mainly for a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation "on condition that the Palestinian component not be limited to the PLO."

President Ronald Reagan was quoted as warning King Hussein that the alternative to joining peace talks by next March "would be delaying the whole thing until 1986" because of Reagan's upcoming preoccupation with U.S. presidential elections.

In another development, Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan told a gathering of students in Jerusalem last week that Judea and Samaria should not be given up, "not even for peace."

In response to questions by participants at the World Union of Jewish Students 19th world conference, Eitan reiterated his well-known view that Judea and Samaria are part of Eretz Yisrael. "Whoever proposes returning Judea and Samaria, even in exchange for peace, is actually proposing to return the Jewish people to the Diaspora," said Eitan.

Former premier Yitzhak Rabin said last week at the West Bank settlement of Efrat that the Jordan Valley, Jerusalem, the eastern foothills of Samaria, Gush Etzion and the southern part of the Gaza Strip will always be part of Israel.

Rabin told settlers there was a mistaken impression that the Labour Party was in favour of withdrawing to the 1967 borders in return for peace. "This was untrue, he said, and pointed out that the party has always insisted that there would have to be changes in the old armistice lines."

Compiled from reports by David Landau, David Bernstein and Agencies. (Hussein holds back, Page 10)

ON A TIGHTROPE

(Continued from page 1)

briefings to the cabinet last week, the Druse fighters in the Shouf were depicted as the stronger, more militant and currently more successful force. Ministers were told that the Druse were determined to carve out a virtual autonomy for themselves in the mountains. For years now they had sought to push the local Christian villagers northwards out of the area. The 30,000-odd Christians who remained often lived, as veritable vassals to their Druse neighbours.

Now, in the wider political uncertainty that shrouded all of Lebanon, the Druse seemed to be calculating

that whatever the eventual settlement the Syrians would remain relatively close at hand and their influence in the mountains would continue to be significant.

Israel is apparently seeking to persuade the Druse to take a more detached view of the Syrians. At the same time, Israel must take account of its own significant Druse minority — and avoid taking sides against the Druse in Lebanon.

North of the Shouf mountains, clashes continued between pro- and anti-Syrian forces in Tripoli. Lebanon's second largest city. About 200 people have been killed in seven weeks of sporadic fighting.

NEWS REPORT



Four of the eight Israelis being held prisoner by the PLO photographed by a British television company, Visnews. Six of the eight were photographed in a PLO base in the Lebanese Bekaa valley. At that time, the prisoners were being given new year gifts. They were captured about four months ago with two others while in a lookout point north of the Beirut-Damascus road. The forces of Ahmad Jibril are holding the other two prisoners. The six being held together were shown on Jordan-T.V. on Saturday night. They said their health was satisfactory and that Red Cross officials had visited them four times during their four months in captivity.

Grenade attack on TA bus

By ISRAEL AMRANI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Twelve persons were injured early Saturday evening when a hand-grenade, apparently thrown by two terrorists, exploded inside an Egged bus in Tel Aviv. Nine of the wounded were taken to hospital and allowed to leave later. The condition of one of the other wounded was described as "moderate." The other two were in "fair condition."

The grenade, of Russian manufacture, according to police, was one of two that were thrown towards the bus from the balcony of a deserted second-storey flat in southern Tel Aviv at about 6:30 p.m. The second grenade exploded outside the bus.

The bus driver, Amnon Dahan, 38, of Rehovot, was hit in the head by grenade fragments and is among those in hospital.

"We heard the bus skidding, then heard something that sounded like a shot. I went to the window and saw the bus drive by. Then I heard a huge explosion and smelled burned firing powder," said Haim Namatiyof, who witnessed the attack from a flat at Rehov Bar-Yohai 19.

The bus driver told the police that he had noticed two men on the balcony about to throw what he thought were stones, and that he therefore accelerated.

According to Namatiyof, the bus continued about 150 metres before finally stopping in a predominantly industrial area. There, the grenade exploded.

One of the grenades, according to other witnesses, bounced off the bus's windshield, fell to the ground and exploded. The other entered the bus through the first side window behind the driver, lodged in the luggage rack behind the driver, before exploding.

Several cars stopped and picked up wounded people.

The police, who arrived within minutes after the explosion, arrested 17 suspects on Saturday night.

It was the first terror attack in Tel Aviv since early 1975, police said, and according to one source, confirming police intelligence reports that terrorists planned to strike in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area following the events in Lebanon.

Tel Aviv district police commander Nitzav Avraham Turgeman

called on the public to be on the alert for explosives which might be left by terrorists in public places.

On Wednesday of last week a bomb was found next to the vehicle licensing office in Hebron. A border-police sapper detonated it, and apart from some broken windows, no damage or injuries were caused.

In Lod, the military court last week sentenced Talab Akhad Zarara, 18, to 25 years in jail after he was found guilty of a terrorist act in Eilat.

The court was told that Zarara joined Fatah at the age of 15 and served as a gunman at a camp in southern Lebanon.

At the start of the Peace for Galilee operation, he travelled to Syria and asked to be given an assignment against Israel.

He was told to travel to Akaba, the Jordanian town opposite Eilat, where he was given an automatic weapon, and hand-grenades. He slipped through the border to Eilat and opened fire over in the direction of a crowd. He did not hit anyone, and was arrested by security forces.

Zarara admitted his guilt.

One dead, 21 hurt in two terror incidents

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

An Israeli civilian truck driver, Adi Mizrahi, 32, was found murdered just off the main Beirut-Rosh Hanikra highway in the Damour area of Lebanon on Wednesday, last week.

Mizrahi, who was reported missing on the Tuesday night, was found shot in the head. His hands were bound.

On Friday of last week 21 Israeli soldiers were wounded in a bus ambush south of Beirut.

He was the ninth Israeli fatality in Lebanon since December 1. There have also been 15 Israelis injured, mainly as a result of planned acts of sabotage. Eight of the dead and all the injured were military personnel.

Two soldiers were injured last week when an explosive charge rocked their vehicle south of Beirut. The charge had been laid on the side of the road, and was activated from a distance.

Military sources expressed concern over the rise in terror inci-

dents, as well as the growing sophistication being displayed by the terrorists.

The sources said they were convinced that the acts of terror, including the placing of five Katyusha rockets in the eastern and western sectors of southern Lebanon recently, were being perpetrated by remnants of the PLO or Lebanese radical left, who were not included in the overall PLO expulsion from Beirut.

Mizrahi, who was a convert from Islam, had been supplying fuel under contract to the IDF in the Shouf Mountain range, and was on his way back to Rosh Hanikra when for some reason he broke away from his convoy. Over the past two months, Israeli vehicles travelling in Lebanon may travel only in convoy, with armed soldiers attached to each vehicle.

A senior officer has been appointed to examine the circumstances of the driver's death.

The bus carrying the 21 soldiers wounded on Friday was attacked

with small arms and bazooka fire near Kfar Sil, south of Beirut. Most of the soldiers suffered slight wounds. They were taken by helicopter to hospitals in Israel.

Two members of the terrorist squad responsible for the attack were killed by an IDF force which pursued them. Weapons and explosives were found near the bodies.

The attack brought the number of Israeli casualties in Lebanon in the last three weeks to six dead and 25 wounded.

IDF sources in Lebanon believe that the terrorist attacks on IDF targets in Lebanon will continue for the duration of the Israel-Lebanon talks. They said that all the signs point to a reorganization of the terrorist forces in Lebanon.

The sources added that the IDF has stepped up security precautions to meet the threat.

A group calling itself the Lebanese National Resistance Front claimed responsibility for the ambush.

Winter reigns



[The snow that blanketed Israel's northern and mountain regions last Saturday gave way to rain in much of the country by mid-week, dampening the spirits of many, and just about everything else.]

Continued precipitation flooded fields, preventing the harvesting of some vegetables and fruit for export. Agrexco and the Citrus Marketing Board reported difficulties in filling export quotas because of the rain, and at least three ships were delayed in leaving port.

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Navon, on U.S. visit, gives warning on Egypt

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — President Yitzhak Navon appealed last week to President Ronald Reagan to help assure smooth Israeli-Egyptian relations. In reply to questions at the National Press Club luncheon Navon also said he had presented Reagan with a summary of the "consensus" of views within Israel.

Navon, during his visit to the U.S., praised Reagan as "warm, sincere and friendly. I like him very much."

Navon said he warned Reagan that two statements in his September 1 peace initiative could go against the consensus in Israel. He said that while Reagan opposed a Palestinian state, his other proposals could lead to one. In addition, Navon said, Reagan's statement about more Israeli withdrawals for more peace could be interpreted as total withdrawal for total peace, but no Israeli supports withdrawal to the 1967 boundaries.

Navon denied that settlements on the West Bank are an obstacle to peace. He said that while there is controversy in Israel over where to place the settlements, there is no controversy over Israel's right to establish them. He said "it was absurd to claim that there is any place in the holy land where no Jews can live."

Navon replied to questions that Reagan had demonstrated a good understanding of the Middle East during their White House meeting last Wednesday. "He knew very well what he was speaking about," said Navon.

The Israeli president said that in the past he had been often surprised to meet leaders in person after reading about them in newspapers or watching them on television. But in Reagan's case, Navon said, "He was the same man I had anticipated."

Navon, who later received an honorary doctorate from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore was in good humour, often joking with the several hundred guests.

He carefully avoided controversial issues. Thus, he refused to express any personal opinions on the matter of Israeli settlements in the West Bank or on the need for a territorial compromise.

Navon was introduced by the president of the Press Club who noted that he had been mooted in the press as a possible challenger to Prime Minister Menachem Begin in the next elections. Navon politely interrupted the introduction to say, "That's not in my official bio."

Later, in response to further questioning on his political future, Navon promised once again to make an announcement of his plans in February. "This is only January," he said. He cited three options before him — seeking a second presidential term, returning to politics, or writing some books.

Recent articles in the government controlled Egyptian news media, he said, had raised the spectre of anti-Semitism. Still, Navon insisted he was hopeful about the future of the Israeli-Egyptian relationship.

In Navon's meeting with Reagan, the U.S. president did not specifically mention his September 1 peace plan for the Middle East or make any demands for support from either Navon or the State of Israel.

He reaffirmed that "the security of Israel is inescapably connected with peace in the Middle East — a principal goal of both our peoples."

During his stay in the U.S. President Navon is meeting with New York City Mayor Ed Koch and later Gov. Mario Cuomo and is visiting the universities of the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform movements.

A number of meetings with Jewish community leaders and fund-raisers were arranged.



President Yitzhak Navon and his wife Ofra are met by Secretary of State George Shultz (right) when the presidential party arrived in Washington. (UPI Telephoto)

President considered quitting over inquiry

President Yitzhak Navon was prepared to resign from the presidency if Premier Menachem Begin had not done an about-face on setting up an inquiry into the massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut.

Navon revealed this for the first time in an interview and profile of the president by *Jerusalem Post* reporters Judy Siegel and Louis Rapoport which appears in the current issue of *The New Republic* appearing in Washington. In the interview, which took place shortly before Navon's current trip to the U.S., the president said that after the Knesset supported Begin's initial decision against a probe, he considered quitting his office.

"I thought that if there had been a final decision against setting up any kind of inquiry commission, I would resign from the presidency. I didn't mean to dictate that there should be one kind of inquiry or another...I didn't sit with a stop-watch in hand. I felt that it was a matter of time, that the government would rethink its position. I didn't hint about resigning to anyone."

(In September, on the night before the Knesset vote against an inquiry, Navon went on television to call for a credible and independent probe.)

Navon, in discussing why many Sephardi Jews switched allegiance from Labour to the Likud, says that the turning point was the Yom Kippur War and its aftermath. He mentioned Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin among the Labour leaders responsible for the party's loss in the 1977 elections after 29 years in power.

"The people felt that Labour failed on the two basic matters that concern most Israelis: military security and economic well-being," he said.

Ali affirms peace commitment to Israel

CAIRO. — Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali has repudiated criticism of his country by President Yitzhak Navon, who implied in a speech in the U.S. that Egypt could be hindering progress towards peace in the Middle East.

Ali told Reuters that Egypt still adheres to its 1979 peace treaty with Israel and said anti-Israeli attacks in Egypt's state-run press reflect public resentment of Israel's actions in Lebanon.

In Geneva on Friday, Egyptian Deputy Foreign Minister Butros Ghali said only strong pressure from

the U.S. on Israel would secure an Israeli pullout from Lebanon.

In Jerusalem it is reported that the cabinet will discuss the continuous Egyptian criticism of Israeli actions and policies at one of its meetings in the near future.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin promised to put this issue high on the cabinet's agenda, in the wake of the demand by Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i that the Foreign Ministry issue a statement cautioning Egypt that its critical barrage was counter-productive.

Moda'i said at a recent cabinet meeting that the Foreign Ministry should remind Egypt that since it had "benefited most from the peace with Israel, it should realize that its strident tones of reproach could merely undermine the advantages it had reaped."

Replying, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said that while the atmosphere was unpleasant, Egypt had not violated any of its fundamental obligations under the peace agreement, and was adhering scrupulously to the terms of demilitarization. He said that once the Lebanese problem was eased, relations would become more cordial.

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* Entries should not exceed 10,000 words.
* Entries to be submitted in one of the following languages: Hebrew, Yiddish, English, French, Russian or Polish.
* The closing date for the receipt of entries is March 16, 1983.

Entries to be addressed to: Mr. Nissan Matri, Committee Coordinator, University of Haifa, Mount Carmel, 31989 Haifa, Israel.

The abnormal Jewish community of Berlin

By MARTIN D. ROSENBERG
PROTECTION OF Jews has been expanded across Europe in recent months after Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon. A policeman now stands in front of the home of Rabbi Ernst Stein in the heart of Berlin round the clock.

When Rabbi Stein conducts Shabbat services, two policemen guard his Pestalozzi Strasse synagogue, said to be one of the oldest surviving synagogue structures in Germany.

Stein, a native German who fled with his family to Shanghai in 1940, continues his work with heightened caution but no fear. He is, however, deeply critical about Israel's policies in Lebanon and toward the Palestinians and is pessimistic about the prospects of peace.

Israelis are not aware of the widespread criticism of their policies in Lebanon, says Stein, who lived in Israel for 11 years.

The rabbi says he cannot accept the policies of Menachem Begin, and believes they are largely responsible for the stepped-up violence against Jews throughout Europe.

"What does he (Begin) have against Jews? He makes it very difficult," Stein said in a recent interview.

"The Israeli actions of the last few years have done enormous harm to Israel. This is real. It is

much harder to sell support for Israel today than five years ago. I see it here. Churches do not support Israeli policies and they cannot," Stein says.

Jewish institutions in Berlin were first given special police protection one year ago, after a terrorist's bomb exploded in an Israeli restaurant, killing a child.

Jewish communities in Berlin, Paris, Rome and elsewhere are threatened by terrorists. Their actions are deplorable, some argue, but don't exist in a vacuum. Jews in the Diaspora have the right to evaluate Israeli policies, Stein says. For the first time, they are questioning Israeli policies, and this is a good thing, the rabbi adds.

"Israel says the existence of Israel makes Jewish life in the Diaspora possible, which means any action taken is being taken for me. Jews must voice their opinion on this," Stein says.

Stein, a dark-haired, intense man, is a liberal rabbi. His concerns are with the state of Jewish morality, he says.

"I have come to the conclusion that if Jews behave exactly like everyone else, then what do we need Jews for?"

He does not reserve his criticisms for Israel alone. He is even more withering in his comments about the Jews of Berlin.

"We are not a normal com-

munity. We cannot be. People are here for the wrong reasons."

BERLIN, home to 175,000 Jews at the time the Nazis came to power, today has about 6,500 Jews served by two rabbis. Stein's Orthodox colleague has recently been subjected to verbal harassment on the streets of Berlin.

In the past decade, 3,000 Russian Jews have moved to Berlin, in part because of generous social assistance, Stein says. But moving to the island of Berlin, surrounded by East Germany, may be a mistake for Jews who psychologically need to be far from the shores of communism, Stein adds.

Berlin's Jewish community is also made up of concentration camp survivors, Israelis and German Jews who have returned from politically unstable South American countries.

Stein is distressed by the general lack of interest in Judaism displayed by his congregation.

"We must be careful not to become a museum piece," the rabbi says. But while the quality of Jewish life in Berlin distresses Stein, he sees some justice in his community's problem.

"Berlin does not deserve a good Jewish community. We are only 37 years away from the end of the war. A large share of the German population sat idly by then, and they are not sorry about it."

ANTI-SEMITISM in Germany has been dormant simply because the nation lost the war, and its post-war recovery was vigorous, he says. But with close to two million Germans out of work in a nation flooded with foreign workers, attacks on foreigners could become attacks on Jews, Stein says.

The recent assumption of power by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, whose backers have been critical of the presence of the foreign workers, could bring the matter to a head in the next few months, according to Stein.

"I would not like to be here if and when Germans really become anti-Jewish again. Germans always say it could happen anywhere, but it happened here. That is why our situation is different from Jews anywhere else."

Stein, 53, received his rabbinical training in London. He came to Berlin two-and-a-half years ago despite the protests of his grown children, who live in England. Every day Stein asks himself whether a Jew should remain in Germany. It is a question that should have been asked by the world Jewish community at the close of World War II, he says.

The writer is an American journalist who recently travelled through Germany for several weeks as the John J. McCloy Fellow of the American Council in Germany.

Ehrlich has heart operation in U.S.

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Deputy Premier and Agriculture Minister Simcha Ehrlich has successfully undergone an open heart bypass operation in the U.S. The Cabinet Secretary disclosed on Sunday.

Last week, Ehrlich cancelled all appointments and flew to the U.S., accompanied by his wife.

At first, his doctors decided to operate here, but after further tests, they were said to have determined that it would be preferable to operate in the U.S.

'Good Israel' pays

NAZARETH (Itim). — Three Lebanese children wounded during the war were released from a Beirut hospital last week after the fees for their treatment were paid by the Movement for a Good-Israel.

The three had been held in the Albi Yesua hospital until their unemployed father could raise 27,000 Lebanese pounds (\$150,000).

The case came to the attention of the movement when the father, from Alep, turned for help to Dr. Ya'acov Adler, chief medical officer in the IDF's aid to civilians unit in the area. Adler made contact with Nazareth district judge Miche Lindenstrauss, chairman of the Movement for a Good Israel, and the movement's directors decided to donate the money out of a fund set up to help refugees in Lebanon.

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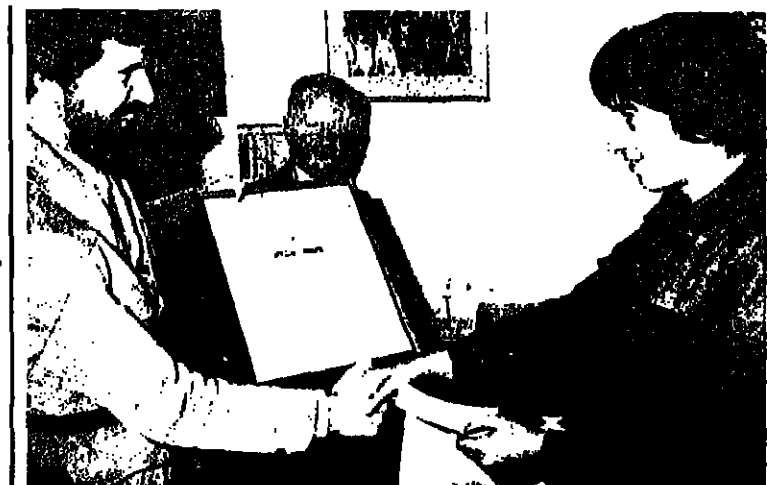
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Danny Bushkanitz, 15, receives a cheque and certificate of merit from Jay Rawlings, secretary of the Apple of Gold society founded by a group of Canadian Protestants to aid victims of terror. Danny, whose parents were killed in the Coastal Road massacre in 1978, plans to use the money to buy musical instruments. In centre is society president Uzi Narkis.

Congressman Rosenthal dies at 59

WASHINGTON (JTA). — U.S. Representative Benjamin Rosenthal, the senior Jewish member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, a staunch supporter of Israel in Congress, an opponent of the Vietnam war and a leading consumer advocate, has died at the age of 59 in Georgetown University Hospital after a long battle with cancer.

A Queens, New York, Democrat who was elected last November to his 11th term in the House, Rosenthal had been in the forefront of congressional battles for continued support of Israel, such as increases in financial and military aid. He sought to prevent administration actions he considered harmful to Israel.

'Forward' bowing out as a daily newspaper

NEW YORK (JTA). — The Forward Association announced last week that because of continuing increases in operating costs it was giving up its struggle to continue publishing *The Jewish Daily Forward* on Tuesday through Friday and would begin publication as a weekly on February 4.

The Association, noting that the Yiddish paper had begun publication as a daily on April 22, 1897, said

the last issue as a daily would be published on January 28. The association added that the recently started English-language weekly supplement would continue.

The statement added that over the course of the years, "the Forward had adapted itself to the many changes in Jewish life both here in America and around the entire world."

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Soccer results

Results of the weekend soccer games were:

NATIONAL LEAGUE
Hapoel Ramat Gan 0 Hap. Beersheba 0
Beter Jerusalem 3 Shimon 3
Maccabi Yavne 2 Macc. Tel Aviv 2
Hap. Kfar Sava 2 Hap. Yehud 0
Macc. Jaffa 0 Macc. Petach Tikva 0
Bnei Yehuda 1 Macc. Haifa 0
Hap. Tel Aviv 2 Hap. Lod 1
Macc. Netanya 3 Hap. Jerusalem 2

STANDINGS					Goals		Pts.
	P	W	D	L			
1. Macc. Net.	15	11	3	1	36:17	36	
2. Macc. TA	15	5	8	2	18:7	23	
3. Shimon	15	5	7	3	17:12	22	
4. Bnei Yehuda	14	5	7	2	11:7	22	
5. Macc. PT	15	6	4	5	18:19	22	
6. Hap. TA	14	5	6	3	13:9	21	
7. Yavne	15	4	6	5	15:19	18	
8. Lod	14	3	8	3	18:16	17	
9. Jaffa	15	3	8	4	12:12	17	
10. Beersheba	15	3	8	4	10:14	17	
11. Macc. Haifa	14	3	7	4	13:17	16	
12. Yehud	15	3	7	5	9:16	16	
13. Kfar Sava	15	3	6	6	19:22	15	
14. Ramat Gan	15	2	9	4	7:10	15	
15. Tel. PT	15	2	7	6	18:23	13	
16. Hap. J'm	11	2	3	9	13:28	9	

Hoopsters win world events

Two Israeli basketball teams won tournaments in Europe last week. Tel Aviv Maccabi retained their New Year invitation basketball title in London, beating the host team Crystal Palace in the international tourney 64-60.

In Stockholm, the Israel team took first place in a four-nation tournament when it defeated Switzerland 84-81.

THE WEATHER

	Saturday's Low-High	Sunday's High
Jerusalem	2-4	6
Nahariya	0-16	12
Safed	1-4	2
Haifa Port	9-13	12
Thessalon	11-13	12
Nazareth	4-9	14
Tel Aviv	8-16	14
Eilat	9-18	17

VISITORS. — Costa Rican

Minister of Public Security Angel Edmundo Solano Calderon and his wife arrived last week for a visit as guests of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon.

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THE ISLAMIC BOMB

STEVE WEISSMAN

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The Islamic Bomb is published by Times Books, and is available from the New York office of *The Jerusalem Post*, 120 East 56th Street, New York, NY 10022. Postage and handling charge for mail orders \$2.50 per copy. Outside North America, allow six to eight weeks for surface mail delivery, or add \$10 for air mail postage.

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Soviet Jews intimidated, MKs told

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

Government officials warned the Knesset Aliya Committee last week that the Soviet authorities are currently mounting a campaign of violent repression against the attempts of Soviet Jews to organize, in general, and to study Hebrew, in particular, in the principal cities.

Aim of the campaign is to deter and intimidate aliya activists, the committee was told. In Odessa recently, aliya activists were physically assaulted in order to intimidate them, the officials charged.

The committee, which also received a report on the arrest of aliya activist Yosef Begun, for the third time, was told that if Begun were charged under para. 70 of the Soviet criminal code, which refers to treason, he could be sent to prison for life. No aliya activist before him has ever been arrested three times running.

Begun, a Hebrew teacher had Hebrew books in his possession when he was arrested. The income tax authorities told him that "the

profession of Hebrew teacher does not exist outside the universities" when he tried to report that he earned his living teaching Hebrew.

The officials reported that demonstrations outside Soviet embassies against the threat of a show trial against Begun are now being organized in many countries in an effort to arouse public opinion.

The Knesset committee intends to contact members of the U.S. Congress and of various parliaments to advise them of the impending trial.

Judy Stiegel adds:
Begun, 50, a refusenik for nearly 12 years, is reportedly jailed in Vladimir prison north of Moscow. He has already served a term of exile in Siberia. The mathematician and radio engineer has been an immigration activist as well as one of the foremost campaigners for the free study of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union.

His friend, Inna Speranskaya, was recently interrogated and her Moscow home searched. The authorities confiscated a number of books, including *The Kuzari* by Yehuda Halevi; *Jews, God and*

History by Max Dimont; articles by Vladimir Jabotinsky and 90 Minutes in *Ennebe*. She refused to accompany the investigators, on the grounds that it is illegal under Soviet law to be questioned in the hours of darkness. She has been under intense pressure, says Prof. Binyamin Fain, a physics professor at Tel Aviv University, to sign a statement that the confiscated materials belonged to Begun, but she has refused to do so.

The professor spoke to Begun shortly before his arrest and found him "full of energy and determined to continue his struggle for the right to Jewish culture in Russia."

There are about 1,000 Jews studying Hebrew in all of the Soviet Union today, says Fain, who came on aliya in 1977. "There is a syndrome of Jewish fear. If someone were to go into a secondhand bookstore in Moscow, it would be unthinkable that he ask out loud for a book on Jewish history. But if we could legitimize the study of Jewish culture, and if newspapers could accept advertisements for Hebrew teaching," says Fain, "people will accept it."



Volunteers distribute jerrycans of kerosene last week to the elderly poor in the Nahlat quarter of Jerusalem, on behalf of the Jerusalem municipality and the Social Council for Heating Homes of the Aged. (IPPA)

Heating grant for elderly

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Following a week of bitter cold weather, needy elderly people living in the coldest areas of the country will receive a special heating allowance added on to their regular old-age pension from the National Insurance Institute.

The grant is expected to provide enough fuel or electricity for six extra heating hours a day, during the next three months, to maintain an average temperature of 20-22 degrees C.

This was announced last week in the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee by Dr. Yitzhak Brick of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

The grant will be limited to those over 65 who already receive a "social benefit" for low-income groups, and who live in areas where the average temperature in January is seven degrees Centigrade or below. This includes Jerusalem, the

Judean Hills, Mizpe Ramon, Upper Galilee and Safad.

Peace campaigner and philanthropist Abie Nathan has already raised 151 million for heating for the elderly.

In Haifa, angry parents last week demonstrated to protest the lack of heating in local classrooms.

The angry slogan-chanting demonstrators said their children, who attend junior high schools and high schools, are unable to study properly because of the extreme cold.

A municipal spokeswoman said it is the Education Ministry's responsibility to cover heating costs, but Haifa, unlike Jerusalem, is not regarded as a priority area. She said the municipality already pays 54 per cent of Haifa's total education budget, including the heating of kindergartens and elementary schools.

Bond sales yield \$500m.

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Cash sales for the Israel Bond Organization in 1982 exceeded the half billion dollar mark. It was announced here last week by Sam Rothberg, general chairman of the organization.

He reported that despite severe recession and record unemployment in the U.S., the proceeds of the Israel Bond Organization amounted to \$502,144,500 in 1982 as against \$432,958,900 in the previous year.

All proceeds from the Israel Bond programme flow into the development budget of the State of Israel to help finance its economic growth. Rothberg said that the increased results of 1982 reflected "the unbroken solidarity of the Jewish community with the people of Israel."

While there was criticism of Israel in some quarters as a result of the war in Lebanon, in his opinion, "it did not have a negative impact on Bond sales. On the contrary, the criticism stimulated wider response in many circles to Israel's economic needs."

A major factor in the outcome for 1982, he said, "was the record results in synagogues and temples during the special High Holiday efforts conducted under the leadership of the Bond Organization's National Rabbinic Cabinet, headed by Rabbi Leon Kronish of Miami."

Another leading factor, according to Rothberg, was the participation of the non-Jewish sector, where sales in 1982 were the highest in the history of the organization.

Among the outstanding highlights of the campaign last year, he said, were the Emergency Drive in the summer months to help offset the economic impact of Operation Peace for Galilee, and the Golda Meir Leadership Award Dinner, honouring William Belzberg of Los Angeles, the National Campaign Co-Chairman.

Murdered TA man worth \$70 million

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A police investigator said last week that Abba Sheinbaum, who was murdered a fortnight ago in Tel Aviv, was worth \$70 million and owned about "half the central bus station."

Rav-Pikad Yitzhak Lushi said "this when applying to the magistrate's court here for an extension of the remand of Said Samargandi and Najy Chichi, who are suspected of the shooting."

Police earlier released Najy's twin brother, Abraham Chichi, for lack of any evidence implicating him in the killing of the 74-year-old businessman.

Lushi said Samargandi had had a business dispute with Sheinbaum, who was found dead in his office.

Judge Reuven Ziv agreed to extend the remand of the two by three days to enable police to complete a ballistics test and to give both suspects lie detector tests.

ARABIC. — Thirty-two Knesset Members have begun a series of 12 two-hour Arabic lessons organized by Upan Akiva, the Netanyahu language centre established 32 years ago.

Begin wants new terms for two chief rabbis

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Prime Minister Menachem Begin has thrown his weight behind the demand that the incumbent chief rabbis, Shlomo Goren and Ovadia Yosef, be allowed to run for re-election. Accordingly, those favouring re-election are likely to triumph, and the law, which bars the chief rabbis from serving for more than one 10-year term, will be amended.

Begin made his position clear at last week's cabinet meeting. He was not swayed by Justice Minister Moshe Nissim's argument that "personal legislation" — a tampering with laws in the interests of individuals — runs counter to the spirit of the rule of law.

Nissim (Likud-Liberals) and

religious affairs Minister Yosef Burg (National Religious Party) are apparently in the minority within the cabinet in their effort to hold the election under the present law and thus prevent Goren and Yosef from standing. Ministers Yitzhak Moda'i (Likud-Liberals) and Mordechai Ben-Porat (Independent) came out in favour of enabling the incumbents to run, and it was plain that they reflected the views of most of those present.

Begin agreed to put off a final decision until this week.

The premier is known to have a close and warm relationship with Ashkenazi incumbent Goren, and this is said to guide his attitude on the election issue. Goren visited Begin frequently during his recent

mourning for his wife, Aliza, and the premier is said to have found solace in the chief rabbi's support.

In addition, Goren's fervent support for the "Greater Israel" political philosophy has been helpful and encouraging to the prime minister over the years.

When the re-election issue first surfaced some months ago, Begin favoured amendment of the law that would enable the two incumbents to stay in office until the age of 70 (like judges) without the need to stand for re-election at all. (The chief rabbis are in fact judges; they are *ex officio* members of the Supreme Rabbinical Court.)

Now, however, the premier has abandoned that position in favour of a "compromise" — supporting

elections this year as required by law but insisting that the law be changed so that Goren and Yosef can run.

Rabbinical sources say that if Yosef runs he would be virtually unbeatable. It is unlikely, they say, that any other Sephardi contender would run against him.

Goren, too, would stand a fair chance of re-election, say these sources, though much would depend on who ran against him. The Ashkenazi chief rabbi, though recognized as a foremost halachic authority, is not universally popular either in the rabbinical world or in the political community. One frontrunner in a possible contest is said to be Tel-Aviv veteran dayan (judge) Rabbi Yitzhak Kallit.

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Knesset urges retrial for Nazis

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Post Knesset Reporter

The Knesset last week denounced last month's refusal by the public prosecutor in Dortmund, West Germany, to demand punishment of Nazi war criminals Wilhelm Westerheide and Johanna Zelle, and called for a retrial.

Westerheide, now 74, was commander of the Vladimir-Linsk district on the Polish-Ukrainian border in the early 1940s. Zelle, now 62, was his secretary. They were tried for having taken part in the murder of some 9,000 Jews in the Vladimir ghetto in 1942-43.

Sheva Weiss (Alignment), who raised the matter in a motion for the agenda, noted that German Judge Paul Fitter had taken testimony in

Haifa from a survivor who said he had witnessed Westerheide pull out his pistol and shoot a Jewish woman of about 30 in whose possession guards had found a slaughtered chicken and a few potatoes. The witness testified that Zelle had specialized in the murder of Jewish children.

But the German prosecutor had told the court that the witnesses were not credible, because 40 years had elapsed.

"Can such things be forgotten?" asked Weiss, himself a Holocaust survivor. "This is the experience of death. It is something that cannot be forgotten."

Justice Minister Moshe Nissim said that no war criminal who took part in genocide should be permitted to go free. Ordinary procedural rights of an accused, such as limitation, immunity, and double jeopardy must not be granted in such cases, he said.

He said Israel does not wish to advise other countries about their legal systems. But in cases involving the Holocaust, Israel has a direct interest, and has the right to urge — even to demand — a retrial.

For if the court's verdict were permitted to stand, it would reduce the prospects of prosecuting other Nazi war criminals who might be found, Nissim said.

The house agreed that the speeches of Weiss and Nissim be considered the sense of the Knesset, and that they be transmitted by the speaker to the parties concerned.

Blue movie slips into Friday entertainment

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — This city, long known as "Red Haifa" for its uninterrupted Labour rule, is now turning "blue" with pornographic films turning up in some unexpected places.

Last week, during a regular Friday night film and pop music session at the city's Aba Khoushy Community Centre, sections of the mostly young audience were respectively shocked and delighted when an innocuous pop film suddenly faded into a hard porno movie.

One of those who was shocked, alarmed the Centre manager, who ordered the film stopped, and it ended as suddenly as it had started — after only 30 seconds.

The films had been screened by a contractor who

received the concession, and who also happened to hold the concession of the Centre buffet. He faces a \$235 million damage suit from leading film companies for allegedly pirating their films and selling video copies of them.

Mayor Arye Gurel has ordered an investigation into the incident, and if it is found that the blue film was inserted deliberately, action will be taken against the responsible parties.

The incident followed earlier screenings of late Friday night porno films by one of the three private cable TV companies that have sprung up in various neighbourhoods of the city.

The porno films were stopped when parents among the subscribers complained that they had a bad influence on their children and they were afraid to leave them at home alone "for a nice night's viewing."

Wave of vandalism against churches in Jerusalem

By ISRAEL AMRANI

Police are keeping guard around the clock at the Russian Orthodox Church in Ein Kerem, on the outskirts of Jerusalem, after an attempt last week to blow up its cooking gas cylinders. This follows a wave of vandalism against Jerusalem churches.

Police attributed the explosion attempt to anti-Christian fanatics.

During the past 10 days, several churches, including two in Ein

Kerem, were vandalized. Swastikas and the word OUT were painted on the Notre Dame and the Greek churches in Ein Kerem on Christmas Eve. Earlier last week the gates of the Ethiopian Church in the centre of Jerusalem were smeared with excrement.

The explosion attempt prompted Interior Minister Yosef Burg on Tuesday night to ask police Inspector-General Rav Nitzan to provide guards for the

church. Burg also denounced the anti-Christian vandalism and reaffirmed Israel's commitment to guarantee religious freedom in the country.

Although expressing concern about the vandalism, the Russian Orthodox Patriarch Archimandrite Anatoly Panteleimon told *The Jerusalem Post* last week that he welcomed the explosion attempt as an isolated incident, terming it "unpleasant."

MKs reject attendance proposals

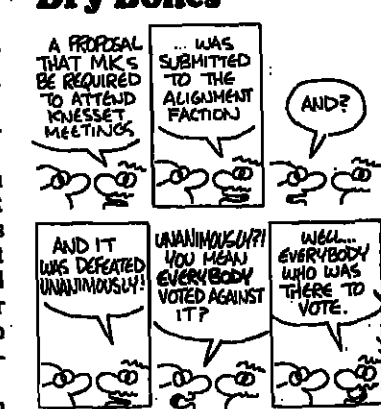
Post Knesset Correspondent

The Alignment Knesset faction has unanimously rejected new proposals by Knesset Speaker Menahem Savidor to compel all MKs to attend the Knesset three days a week and to attend the committees to which they are assigned.

Alignment faction chairman Moshe Shahal, who reported that Savidor had raised these proposals in the presidium and asked that they be referred to the factions, said he personally believed that Savidor was trying to turn the Knesset into "an army camp with military discipline."

The faction passed a resolution describing the Savidor reforms as "dangerous," blaming the government for failing in its obligation to keep the Knesset busy with legisla-

Dry Bones



tion, and demanding that the government and the coalition treat the Knesset with more respect.

Group to aid Falashas established in U.S.

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — The creation of an organization to assist the endangered Jewish community of Ethiopia, the North American Conference on Ethiopian Jewry, has been announced in New York, York.

Barbara Ribakove, senior editor of *Health* magazine, who visited the Falasha community in Ethiopia in the fall of 1981, will serve as conference president. Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, spiritual leader of the Lincoln Square synagogue in Manhattan, will be the honorary chairman.

Histadrut to build in W. Bank, defy Labour movement policy

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Histadrut labour federation's holding company Hevrat Ovdim, decided its companies may build homes for Jewish settlers in the West Bank, despite the Labour movement's opposition to settlement in areas densely populated by Arabs.

The governing body of Hevrat Ovdim maintains that the companies need the contracts or else they may have to dismiss workers.

A well-placed government source told *The Jerusalem Post* he does not believe the Histadrut's enterprises account for more than 20 per cent of the 3,000 building starts last year throughout the West Bank, including greater Jerusalem.

Yuval Gad, owned by Koor, is building three or four schools. Solel Boneh is building some 150 houses in the settlements of Ariel and Ofra, and other Histadrut companies are engaged in building Ma'alah Adumim.

According to one unconfirmed report, only about 400 Histadrut labourers are employed in the West Bank. However, the labour federation's companies have bid for more projects. Solel Boneh head Shraga Rothman said he expects to build hundreds of housing units there.

The matter came before Hevrat Ovdim's governing body because this work clashes with Labour movement policy, which says that Jewish settlement should be kept out of a large part of the hill country.

The company's management maintains the Histadrut has to face realities. The population is shifting from development areas in Israel as flats near the centre of the country become cheaper with the help of government aid, they claim. The Histadrut's construction companies say they cannot sell flats they have built in the North and the South.

Rothman said that on average Solel Boneh's construction has dropped by 6 per cent. Some workers have already been fired — and he is concerned that more would have to go unless there is more work. Since funds are being channelled to the West Bank — the companies have to win contracts there, the management argued.

Mupam's representatives in the governing body and Efraim Rainer, the chairman of Bank Hapoalim's board of directors, are seeking to restrict Histadrut involvement. They have presented a proposal saying the Histadrut's companies will not invest, initiate nor be partner to investments and initiatives in construction, development and settlement on the West Bank.

However, the Labour Party representatives did not go that far. They decided the companies should refrain from "initiating" projects for settlement in areas densely populated by Arabs in Judea and Samaria and from taking part in speculative activities. Nonetheless, they should "strive to get jobs offered by government ministries and other bodies operating legally," the resolution said.



A bandaged Elizabeth Taylor chats with Prime Minister Begin at his Jerusalem office (Rahamim Israel)

Liz, in pain, carried on 'peace mission'

Actress Elizabeth Taylor met Prime Minister Menachem Begin for about 20 minutes in his Jerusalem office last week. Taylor wore a neck brace, her left leg was heavily bandaged and her right hand was partially bandaged, all as a result of a car collision in the Negev on January 1 while on her way to see Defence Minister Sharon at his farm. She went through with the visit despite her injuries.

One of Begin's aides said afterwards it was clear she had been "in great pain."

The Prime Minister was solicitous about her condition and questioned her about the accident.

Taylor referred to her solo 'peace mission', and said a settlement between Israel and Lebanon was important to her — to which Begin replied that it was "very important to all of us."

Begin reviewed the negotiations with Lebanon and said Israel hoped they would lead to a new relationship between the two countries.

Later, Taylor was to fly to Beirut to meet Lebanese President Amin Gemayel and visit Israeli troops, but the trip was cancelled because of renewed terrorism in parts of Lebanon.

JDC man resigns over 'free speech' issue

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The publication of an article in *The Jerusalem Post* supporting the government's settlement policy in the administered territories has led to the resignation of the author, Eliezer Whartman, from his post of public relations director of the Joint Distribution Committee-Israel. This followed a demand by the director Ze'ev Heimowitz that future articles expressing political opinions be submitted to him for review.

The article on December 7 argued for Israel's moral and legal right to settle the territories. Whartman was identified as the director of the Israel Press Service, and his JDC-Israel affiliation was not mentioned.

Whartman, who resigned on December 15, said he could not

continue to work for the JDC-Israel without the right of free speech. He said that he was hired in 1976 on the understanding that he could continue writing for the Israeli and Anglo-Jewish press, which he has done for the last 20 years.

Heimowitz said in response to a question that Whartman's article, which included criticism of U.S. policy on the territories, would not have been approved even if it had been submitted for prior review.

He said that as an American Jewish organization operating in Israel that had been granted a tax-exempt status by the U.S. government, the JDC-Israel had to be strictly apolitical.

He said that the restrictions on the rights of expression of its professional staff were designed to serve this end. He added that until the

publication of the article, he had assumed that Whartman was aware of the JDC policy, which he compared to the restrictions imposed on civil service workers.

Heimowitz said the JDC-Israel had to be careful about someone widely known to be an agency employee expressing support for a settlement policy opposed by the U.S. and many leaders of American Jewry, which finances the JDC.

Whartman said this was the first time that Heimowitz had brought up the subject of his political articles. He added that the Civil Service Commission had told him that government employees were prohibited from writing articles criticizing the government. He plans to take his case for free speech to the Israeli and American-Jewish public.

Pym again snubbed

LONDON (Reuters). — A proposed Middle East tour by British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym collapsed in disarray last week after rebuffs by three Arab states.

The Foreign Office confirmed that the United Arab Emirates and Qatar had followed Saudi Arabia's move earlier last week and told Pym he was not welcome, in a show of displeasure over Britain's refusal to accept an Arab League delegation including a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Rumanian immigration up

Immigration from Rumania during 1982 rose by 51 per cent: 1,606 in 1982 as against 1,067 in 1981 according to Rumanian Chief Rabbi Moshe Rosen. He gave the figures to him news agency in a telephone call from Bucharest.

Rosen also said that another 737 Jews have received permission to emigrate.

'World's 7th arms exporter'

Jerusalem Post Staff

The American newspaper *The Christian Science Monitor* in a lengthy article last week on the Israeli arms industry, said Israel ranks seventh in the world in arms exports.

"There are times when Israel's role as pariah selling to pariahs can work in the interests of Washington," it said. "U.S. military sales to Taiwan, for instance, increasingly are being complicated by mainland China's displeasure. Because Washington thinks in global terms, this obstacle is formidable. Israel does not have such constraints. Its foreign policy normally is geared to regional, not global, interests. It can sell to Taiwan without upsetting the super-power balance (and has sold millions of dollars worth of Gabriel

missiles and light weapons there)." The newspaper said Israel last year earned \$1 billion in arms exports.

Meanwhile, a study shows that Israel's decision to develop a new fighter aircraft was not accompanied by allocations of appropriate funds, and the search for potential partners in the enterprise has been without results.

This is one of the main conclusions reached by the Knesset State Control Committee on the Israel Aircraft Industries, included in its report on controlled corporations.

The committee also stated that IAI's management should examine the profitability of continued production of the Arava aircraft, in view of the losses incurred in the past by the production of civilian aircraft.

Jewish students abroad want more support

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The government would rather send prominent Israelis abroad to raise funds than meet with Jewish youth to encourage their activities on behalf of Zionism, the chairman of the World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS) said. Alfredo Trapunsky was speaking last week at a press conference on the eve of the opening of the union's triennial convention in Jerusalem.

He said members of the union complained about this to Prime Minister Menachem Begin when they met him last week but were not given assurances that there will be a change in policy.

"Ministers, generals and Members of Knesset are always visiting Jewish communities abroad. But their main aim is to ask for donations. They rarely, if ever, take time to meet with Jewish students,

who are bearing the brunt of anti-Israel activity on campuses throughout the world," Trapunsky said.

David Makofsky, a WUJS activist in the U.S. and Canada, said pro-Israel propaganda efforts during Operation Peace for Galilee were hampered by the Foreign Ministry's refusal to provide information material.

On the brighter side, two WUJS leaders reported on a visit to Hungary last month in which they found that the 100,000-strong Jewish community there is "thriving and well."

During a study tour on the Hungarian community's development since the Holocaust, the visiting Jewish students found 28 well-attended synagogues in Budapest alone, in addition to Jewish schools and community centres, and a flourishing rabbinical seminary that sends its graduates to

countries in Eastern Europe.

Founded in 1924 as a roof organization for European Jewish student unions, WUJS has had as its leaders Chaim Weizmann, Haim Nahman Bialik and Stephen S. Wise. Until recently, WUJS had been financed mainly by the World Jewish Congress and various cultural foundations. In 1972 WUJS was expelled from the World Zionist Organization following charges that anti-Zionist, leftist influences had emerged in the organization.

However, in 1979, WUJS was faced with financial problems and returned to the Zionist fold and began receiving Jewish Agency financial assistance. The organization's central offices were moved from London to Jerusalem.

The three-day convention was attended by Israeli WUJS activists and about 140 delegates from abroad.

Berman group uncertain on new party

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Opinions were divided in the Centre Forum's first gathering last week about whether the new liberal group should be turned into a political party.

The forum's initiator, Liberal MK Yitzhak Berman, urged caution, while the only other MK to attend, fellow Liberal Dror Zeigerman, advocated the establishment of a new party with centrist liberal orientation. (The Liberals are partners with Mr. Begin's Herut Party in the ruling Likud coalition. Berman resigned as Energy Minister because of the government's delay in appointing a judicial commission into the Beirut camp massacre.)

The proceedings were closed to the press and another meeting is scheduled for next month. Former Liberal leader Elimelech

Rimalt delivered the main address, advocating the establishment of a new party. He said he does not believe that "the Liberal Party can rehabilitate itself within the Likud framework. A new party should come into the world which would continue in the footsteps of what used to be the General Zionist movement."

A similar note was struck by Zeigerman, who was in favour of starting a new party now in the event that new elections could soon be called.

He, however, opposed bolting the Likud Knesset faction while the Tenth Knesset's term is still in session. To his mind, Liberals cannot hope to effect changes inside the Likud. Like-minded speakers asserted that the Liberal Party no longer exists, having been swallowed up by Herut.

Mayor chased out of Tel Aviv quarter

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Members of the Knesset Interior Committee and Mayor Shlomo Lahat were forced to cancel their scheduled tour in Kfar Shalem, a poor quarter of Tel Aviv, last week when hundreds of angry residents, shouting "Lahat is a murderer" and "Lahat resign," blocked the delegation's way.

The tour was arranged following the committee's debate on the demolition of an illegal structure in the quarter last month, during which 26-year-old Shimon

Yehoshua was shot and killed by police.

Lahat insisted on joining the tour, despite warnings by the Kfar Shalem residents' committee to the Knesset committee that residents will not allow him to enter the quarter.

An hour and a half after the tour was to have begun, Lahat beat a retreat under heavy police protection, while the MKs withdrew to the house of a residents' committee member to discuss the quarter's problems.

Stock Exchange head warns on shares

Stock Exchange board chairman Meir Heth last week submitted his resignation following criticism of him by board members.

At a press conference earlier last week, Heth warned of a fall in current share prices, saying they are out of proportion to their real value.

Members of the board took exception to this public statement, and also to Heth's demand for stricter control of new issues.

The feeling among board members was that his attitude tended to restrict stock exchange trading.

Heth, 50, has been in his present post for five years. He was previously adviser to the governor of the Bank of Israel, in charge of its stock dealings. Earlier he had been controller of banks and chief economist of the Bank of Israel's research department.

Anti-war soldiers want objectors freed

TEL AVIV. — Yesh Ovul (There's a Limit), a group of reservists who object to serving in Lebanon or on the West Bank for reasons of conscience, are demanding that the rights of conscientious objectors be recognized and that those in jail be freed.

Avi Mugarby, an active member of the movement, told *The Jerusalem Post* that 1,500 soldiers, mostly reservists, have signed a petition being circulated by Yesh Ovul,

asking that they not be called to serve in Lebanon.

There are currently three conscientious objectors in jail for refusing to serve in Lebanon, and only a dozen soldiers have been imprisoned for refusing to serve there since the war began.

Mugarby said that in many cases, the army decided for reasons of its own not to make an issue over the soldiers' refusal to serve in Lebanon or the West Bank.



One of the Beduin tents at Tel Mahata, due to be evacuated to make way for the new IDF airbase. (Liora Moriel)

Beduin evacuation may be delayed

By LIORA MORIEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BIERSHEBA. — Binyamin Gur-Arye, the prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs, promised last week that Prime Minister Menachem Begin will see whether the evacuation of Beduin families from Tel Mahata, east of here, can be postponed.

Gur-Arye said this at a meeting with representatives of the families, who are living in the vicinity of a

planned IDF air base. He agreed that the reasons given by the Beduin for a postponement were convincing. The Beduin argued that some of them had not yet been given alternative land and that winter was a difficult time to move.

The director-general of the prime minister's office, Mattitiah Shmulevitz, told *The Jerusalem Post* last week that, as far as he knew, Begin was planning to postpone the evacuation.



High school pupils demonstrate in Tel Aviv's Kikar Machei Yisrael against their teachers' sanctions. (Israel Simonsky)

Teachers 'play truant' so high school pupils protest

Jerusalem Post Staff

Secondary school teachers last week resumed normal work after imposing sanctions because of the government's failure to implement all the recommendations of the Etzioni commission on teachers' working conditions. They had withheld grades from examinations

and exercises, refused to issue report cards, and cancelled field trips and consultations with pupils.

The teachers' decision to resume normal work was made known while tens of thousands of high school pupils in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan and Haifa demonstrated against their sanc-

tions.

Earlier, Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer had called on the teachers to drop their sanctions, to accept the wage agreement signed two weeks ago by the Histadrut and government and to renew negotiations on implementing the Etzioni recommendations.

Proposal to raise ministers' salaries is rejected

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The Knesset Finance Committee last week rejected by seven votes to five a proposal to raise the salaries of ministers and deputy ministers retroactively from October, a move which also blocked an automatic pay hike for Members of Knesset.

The committee was debating a proposal to adjust ministers' wages twice a year on the basis of the increase of the average wage in April and October, starting from last October.

At present the wages of ministers and deputy ministers are adjusted in April, when increases paid to them

as cost of living allowances are compared to the increase in the average wage and raised accordingly.

Since the basic \$145,000 (\$1,400) monthly salary of the House members is linked to that of deputy ministers, the committee's approval of the proposal would have meant an increase to MKs' salaries.

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ISSUES

PRESIDENT REAGAN is no longer as upbeat in describing prospects for a stabilization in Lebanon and elsewhere in the Middle East as he was only a few weeks ago. Thus, at last week's White House news conference, he predicted that current negotiations designed to remove all foreign forces from Lebanon will eventually succeed, but he conceded that it could take some time.

In the process of defending U.S. efforts in Lebanon, the president confirmed that special envoy Philip Habib would return to the region shortly to join his deputy, Ambassador Morris Draper, in trying to advance the talks. "Well," Reagan said, "we're calling back Mr. Habib from his vacation. He's going to join Ambassador Draper. Ambassador Habib will be there now." Reagan did not say exactly when Habib would fly back to the Middle East.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S major objective in the Middle East right now is to conclude the negotiations in Lebanon. That is seen as an absolutely essential ingredient in convincing Jordan's King Hussein to enter the broader U.S.-sponsored peace process.

Without some firm indication that Israeli forces will leave Lebanon, an American official said, Hussein is unlikely to get involved. And without Hussein's entry into the peace process, the entire Reagan peace initiative announced last September 1 will collapse.

The Reagan Plan was predicated on the assumption that Hussein could be coaxed into the talks. Given the enormous amount of personal prestige Reagan has already invested in that effort — his name,

Hussein holds back

By WOLF BLITZER
Post Correspondent in Washington



rather than his secretary of state, is attached to the plan — he and his top aides very badly want to see it succeed.

Hussein was in Washington for three days of meetings with Reagan, Habib, Secretary of State George Shultz and other top U.S. officials at the end of December. To the disappointment of the Americans, the king did not announce an immediate readiness to cooperate in the peace process. Rather, he said that further discussions would have to take place with PLO chief Yasser Arafat and leaders of other Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia.

Since Hussein's departure from Washington, the Americans have consistently spread a positive line that he still could be counted on in the very near future to signal a firm willingness to join the talks. There have been reports in the U.S. news media that Hussein may even return to Washington in the coming weeks to sign on the dotted line.

Predictably, U.S. policymakers also have spread the word that an Israeli decision to freeze settlement activity on the West Bank would be very helpful in turning Hussein around. Together with a pullback from Lebanon, that step would supposedly be enough to push Hussein toward direct peace talks with Israel.

THAT IS the official American stance. It has been widely articulated since the Reagan-Hussein summit.

But there are other knowledgeable experts both in and

out of the U.S. government who disagree with that conventional wisdom. Simply put, they don't believe Hussein will get involved in direct, face-to-face talks with Prime Minister Menachem Begin under virtually any circumstances.

These specialists suggest that Hussein has more to lose than to gain. The last thing he needs, they explained, is another one million Palestinians in his kingdom, which already has a Palestinian majority. The demographics could pose a threat to his rule.

"What Hussein wants is exactly

what Begin wants," one U.S. analyst said. "That is the land, but without the people who live there." But since that is as unrealistic an objective for Hussein as it is for Begin, the king remains torn.

To bolster his national pride and ego, he, of course, would like to regain the West Bank and East Jerusalem which he so suddenly lost in the 1967 Six-Day War.

At the same time, he and several of his senior advisers fear the consequences of once again adding all those Palestinians to his regime. Palestinian nationalism today is much stronger than it was before 1967. Hussein is very much aware of this potential danger. Thus, he is reluctant to move quickly in joining the Reagan peace process. Some here in Washington believe he may delay his move forever.

IRONICALLY, U.S. officials have disclosed that Arafat and other "moderate" leaders of the PLO may even be more anxious to have Hussein cooperate in the peace process than is the king himself. Why?

Because they recognize that Hussein might be able to achieve for the PLO what it alone could never hope to do.

But like Hussein, Arafat is weak and indecisive. He also fears his radical rivals, especially those controlled by the Syrians. Therefore, he continues to send conflicting signals to Hussein and everyone else.

Meanwhile, Reagan, Shultz, Habib and Company are clearly becoming increasingly frustrated in

the slow pace of the overall process, both in Lebanon and in the broader peace effort.

U.S. officials are also anxiously awaiting the outcome of the Israeli commission of inquiry looking into the Sabra and Shatilla massacre. No one is publicly talking about the subject, but top American policymakers are still bracing for possible fireworks within the Israeli political system, perhaps even the fall of the Likud-led coalition. New Israeli elections would further delay prospects for peace.

On top of all that, the Americans are nervously monitoring what they consider to be ominous signs of a potential further round of fighting between Israel and Syria.

The unusual Israeli announcement last week that Syria was installing new Soviet supplied SAM missile batteries in Syria came as a jolt to Washington.

It was not that the Americans were unaware of the information. They had confirmed it earlier. What was unnerving was the fact that Israel had so publicly broadcast it. The implication was clear: Israel, under Prime Minister Begin and Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, might be tempted to destroy those missiles before they could pose a real danger to Israel.

The Reagan Administration feels that the consequences of such an Israeli attack could be devastating to the peace process.

In short, Reagan may still be expressing public confidence that the tensions in Lebanon can be eased and that real progress toward an Israeli-Arab peace settlement can be achieved.

But in private, he is no doubt losing heart.

OPINION

Dry Bones



Greater Lebanon's lesson for Israel

By ABBA EBAN

THE MOST precious gift that Lebanon can bestow on Israel is the lesson of its own experience. This lesson is a gift that is ours for the asking. It does not have to be bargained about in Halde. And it towers high above other issues under discussion there.

We face the astonishing fact that a lucid study of Lebanon's experience should logically unlock the door of Israel's most acute predicament. The central question for Israel is whether we can afford to become another Lebanon.

For many decades, "Lebanon" was a compact Christian community, known in administrative terms as the "Sanjak of Lebanon" with a long tradition of autonomy, an atmosphere of friendship for the West and a link to the culture and language of France. On September 1, 1920 the French high commissioner announced the establishment of "Greater Lebanon" through the annexation of large neighbouring areas with a predominantly Moslem population. Everything of importance that has happened in Lebanon in the following 62 years has been influenced by that fateful decision.

The Maronites, who had created Lebanon's identity, found themselves living together with new populations — Greek Orthodox and Sunni Moslems in the north, Shi'ites from the Bekaa valley in the east, the Sunni-dominated towns of Tripoli and Sidon in the west and the city of Beirut with a 50 per cent Moslem population.

The Maronites might well have believed that the edict of September 1, 1920, marked the attainment of their highest ambition — an independent state of their own. But in fact, it paved the way for its disintegration as a distinctive and sovereign Christian entity.

An important and authoritative study of the Lebanese experience by Dr. Meir Zamir in the Spring 1982 edition of *The Jerusalem Quarterly* ("Smaller and Greater Lebanon") leads to the following conclusion:

"The doubling of Lebanon's territory and the incorporation of such a large number of Moslems who now comprised nearly half of the population, upset the demographic structure and created serious problems in the attempt to integrate areas so politically, socially, economically and culturally different into one state... The root of the Lebanese problem then, as today, was the arbitrary annexation of large Moslem populations to a Christian state."

RECENT ACCESS to documents reveals that the French intention was not to pamper the Christians but, on the contrary, to conciliate the Moslems in Syria and, through them, the rest of the Moslem world at the expense of the Lebanese Christians.

Throughout the 1920s, those Lebanese and Frenchmen who cared for the idea of a Christian Lebanon urged a change of policy. They believed that "it would be in the interests of both France and the Lebanese Christians themselves to create a Lebanese state within a smaller area than was being demanded by the latter — a more compact state, with a more homogeneous population and a clear Christian majority."

Some French statesmen and officials, such as Robert de Caix and Henri de Jouvenel, who had a bright vision of a Christian sovereignty in the Middle East became almost obsessive in their desire to reverse the disastrous decision of 1920 and to establish Christian nationhood by ceding Tripoli and part of the

Beka'a Valley to Syria.

The Lebanese Maronites awoke belatedly to the fact that their territorial success threatened their Christian hegemony. A lively debate developed on the conflict between territorial expansion and national cohesion. The Maronite leaders were deaf to the idea of renouncing what the 1920 decision had awarded them. With two Mediterranean ports, Beirut and Tripoli, their state seemed assured of a commercial and economic future beyond anything that would have been possible within the frontiers of a "Mount Lebanon" entity.

Moreover, they were convinced that their superior culture, linked firmly to France, would ensure their permanent superiority over the less-developed Moslems.

Only the Maronites in the mountain area itself seemed to favour the cession of the Jabal Amel territory to Syria. Those who took this far-sighted view included Emil Eddé, the father of Raymond Eddé, who is now an exile in Paris. Another personality who shared this opinion was the editor George Samné.

BUT THESE were minority voices. Most of the Christian leaders tried to square the circle: after the departure of the French mandatory administration there was a historic electoral contest. Bishara Khuri, who stood for a pluralistic society in which Christian and Moslem populations would create a new "Lebanese identity" won the election against Emil Eddé, who would have favoured a territorial compromise that would have maintained a strong Christian hegemony in a more compact framework.

Lebanon entered the post-war era as a tormented, divided society, seeking to resolve its inner contradictions by complex balancing arrangements under which constitutional power would be distributed along strict sectarian lines. A "Lebanese identity" never came into existence in any real terms of consciousness or allegiance.

The rest is modern history. The Maronites have paid a heavy price for the short-sightedness and territorial greed of the previous generation of their leaders. An astounding number of Lebanese have lost their lives in successive massacres and civil wars.

It is unlikely that a cohesive Maronite Christian state would have admitted the PLO into the country on the backs of hundreds of thousands of Palestine refugees. And the scars have never been healed.

The irony is that Israeli forces now find themselves immersed in the undrained swamp of a conflict that is likely to convulse Israel if its lessons are ignored.

Will Jewish Israel go the way of Christian Lebanon? There are other case-histories which indicate the dangers of preferring territorial expansion to national harmony. There is a geographical element in the security of states and it cannot be ignored.

But what makes for the ultimate security of a society is its human texture, the power of its solidarities, the intensity of the bonds that hold its citizens together in a mutual rhythm of experience. To impose a unitary structure on peoples who do not hold the ends of life in common is to create a situation that is bound to be coercive, artificial and morally fragile.

If we are to have trade relations with Lebanon, we should begin by exchanging our most instructive and painful experiences.

Ambulance contributed to MDA following visit to Israel



New York, N.Y.: Mr. and Mrs. Allen C. Marcus of West Hempstead, New York, recently visited the Jerusalem MDA Emergency Medical Clinic, and were so impressed with their medical services that they contributed an ambulance to Magen David Adom in memory of Lillian and David Marcus, Jerome H. Marcus and Dr. Alfrad Friedlander.

At the dedication ceremony, Mr. Marcus presented the keys of the ambulance to Mr. Benjamin Saxe, ARMDI's Executive Vice-President. Standing next to Mr. Marcus is his wife Myra and their three children, Laura, Dale and Jeffrey. Mr. Saxe praised the Marcus family for this outstanding contribution, memorializing dear members of their family.

American Red Magen David Adom (ARMDI), sole U.S. support of Magen David Adom, supplies ambulances, mobile intensive care ambulances, emergency medical equipment and funds to MDA in Israel. ARMDI National Headquarters, 888 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10108. 212-757-1627.

(Communicated)

U.S. house of cards

VIEWPOINT
Shmuel Katz

did not do any fighting. That the U.S. should now have the decisive voice on relations between Israel and Lebanon is preposterous; and it has already been doing its utmost in support of the Lebanese Moslem point of view.

Whatever the U.S. and the Lebanese would hatch up together would have to be accepted by Israel. Moreover, it is no secret that America hopes, by the threat of depriving Israel of at least some of the fruits of its sacrifice in Lebanon, the Israeli government will be cowed into accepting the Reagan plan for the "West Bank."

Indeed, this scenario, no doubt thought up by some bright would-be Machiavelli in the State Department, is probably the reason for Washington's sudden concern for Lebanon, whose seven-year-long agony it watched without moving a muscle.

The Lebanese are, it is true, torn by internal dissent and are, moreover, being pressed by the Arab states not to reach any substantive agreement with Israel. Those states naturally wish to leave as many doors open as possible for a renewal of hostile activity against Israel from Lebanon. The most persistent purveyor of pressure is Saudi Arabia; and to Washington, the word of Saudi Arabia, in this region, is law.

There is, however, no reason why the Lebanese should not now stand firm against these pressures. They should not hesitate to address themselves to the Arab states roughly as follows:

It was you who originally drew us into this bog. You pressed us into

giving the PLO shelter and into allowing them to use our territory as a base for operations against Israel. For 10 years, the PLO kept up a campaign of destruction and murder against the civilian population of northern Israel and sporadic attacks deeper into the country — not to mention the gradual conversion of our capital into a centre for international terror.

For all this, Israel could, if it wished, hold us responsible, as an ostensibly sovereign nation responsible for whatever actions are carried out from its territory. The Israelis however recognize that since 1975, Lebanon has not had a free, independent government.

When Israel destroyed the PLO structure in our country, the Lebanese people, for so long subjected to their terrorism and extortion, began to breathe once more the air of freedom and to nurture the hope of independence. They hailed the Israeli Army as liberators; and you know, as we know, that the Israelis do not want the burden of maintaining an army in Lebanon.

Nevertheless they insist on arrangements that will ensure the prevention of a renewal of activity against them; and the establishment of a "good-neighbour" relationship between our two peoples.

We certainly do not intend to resume the role of battleground in the conflict with Israel. We, of all people, need peace; an agreement

with Israel is a vital ingredient of such peace; and you should respect our desire for it and desist from trying to hinder its achievement.

Nor should the Lebanese hesitate to make a similar statement to the Americans, who — in all friendship, of course — are patently using Lebanon as a pawn in their campaign to squeeze Israel out of Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

WASHINGTON'S ignoring of "the Israeli dimension" has been most evident on the subject of the Reagan plan (which was shown to the Arabs and to the leader of the Israeli opposition before being conveyed to the prime minister). One would not dream, from the variety of statements and prognostications coming out of Washington that the plan deals with territory held by Israel, firmly and perfectly legally.

True, Israel's outright rejection of the plan is mentioned occasionally, but usually only in order to emphasize that the small matter of Israel's rejection will not deflect the president.

The show of confidence is, of course, in the first place propaganda, a legitimate effort at intimidation. Nevertheless, Reagan's forces are well-organized. The Europeans are all arrayed, ready to lambast Israel for not agreeing to this U.S. version of the own Venice Plan for the reduction of Israel to a state of maximum vulnerability.

Hussein of Jordan, hoping for sophisticated arms from the United States, may well come forward with an announcement of readiness to "negotiate" — provided Jews stop

settling in Judea and Samaria and that Israel binds itself in advance to withdraw from "all the territories."

Reagan clearly hopes that a substantial body of support for the plan will be engendered within Israel, by the Alignment opposition.

True, very few of them seem to have read the plan itself.

If Shimon Peres has indeed read it and still talks of its favourable points, he is notably not quoting chapter and verse from the text.

The scales in that final reckoning, however, will be tipped by economic pressure. Israel must expect economic sanctions if it refuses to accept the Reagan Plan as the basis for solving "the conflict."

YET, THERE is no reason to be intimidated by the administration's strategy. The cards available to the Israeli government are stronger; but they must be played immediately. The first card is the Reagan Plan itself. Its central feature is support for the transfer of Judea, Samaria and Gaza to Arab hands. The vast majority of the people of Israel will not accept such a plan, and if the Labour Party persists in hinting that it supports it, the Labour party will lose votes.

Secondly, there is no reason why sufficient support should not be mobilized in the U.S. against a plan whose consummation would demonstrably threaten Israel's very existence.

Finally, and how often must this be repeated, Israel is in vital need of a comprehensive austerity plan to reduce its dependence on U.S. aid and this must include a contingency plan against the threat of "sanctions."

Meantime, it may be said to the anonymous official in Washington that what he "holds" may turn out to be no more than a fragile house of cards.

Jep 20 1986

IT IS 1983. The fate of the West Bank and Gaza should be sealed this year. There will either be progress towards resolution of the problem by diplomatic means, or the strands tying the future of the territories to Israel will become too tangled to unravel.

We have heard this argument often of late. Officials in Washington are convinced of its veracity. It is echoed in the State Department, the White House, the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill.

It could be true. But prediction in the Middle East is a fool's trade. The realities of 1983 make research studies conducted a decade ago look like a comedy of errors.

Mechanism Begin is the prime minister of Israel — something almost unthinkable in January 1973. Anwar Sadat made peace with Israel, but only after conducting a war the experts said was impossible.

Iraq and Iran are at war, and there is a long list of conflicts that have engulfed the region: Syria — Iraq; Syria — Jordan; Egypt — Libya; Libya — Sudan; the Yemens.

Afghanistan has been invaded by the Soviet Union and the strongest protest the Americans could muster was to cancel their participation in the Moscow Olympics. American credibility started, eroding with the fall of the Shah — an event of such impact that its repercussions are being felt to this day, and will be felt throughout the next decade. It created a wave of Islamic fundamentalism that looms over the future of regimes in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Egypt, Jordan and Syria. It killed Sadat, and there is no predicting its future course.

UNPREDICTABILITY is the characteristic of Middle East developments. The region is a quicksand of shifting allegiances and changing ideologies. Apart from Israel, which has its own problems, not a country in the region is free from potentially explosive internal dissent.

Jordan's King Hussein is faced with increasing Palestinian unrest in his own country, fostered on the one hand by Palestinian nationalism becoming a trans-national movement, and on the other by growing dissatisfaction over his continued ineffectuality in stopping creeping Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Syria's Hafez Assad is still waging a battle for his life with the Moslem Brotherhood in his country, though he dealt the organization a severe blow in February 1982 when he razed the city of Hama and destroyed with it a lot of the populist support the movement enjoyed. Its leaders are still active and receiving financial and operational support from Jordan and Iraq.

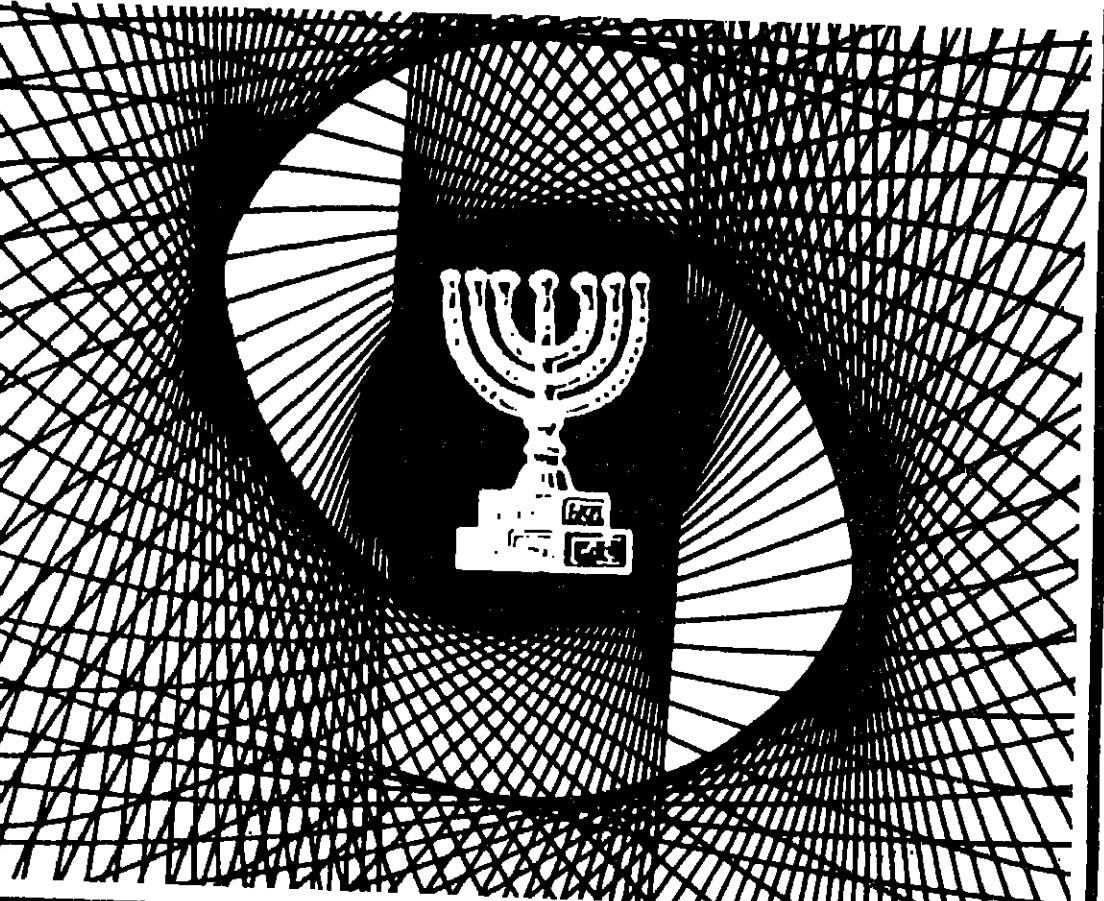
Iraq's Saddam Hussein is threatened not only militarily by Iran (though it seems that his situation in the field is far less hopeless than one would have expected six months ago), but also by the overflow of Shi'ite fanaticism from that country, which could rub off on Iraq's Shi'ite majority. Saddam's Shi'ites have long been restive under his own Sunni minority.

Similarly unstable scenarios could be projected for every Arab country directly involved in the Middle East conflict — countries Israel has to know and understand in order to articulate its own basic position with regard to that conflict.

To be safe, those responsible for Israel's security must assume the worst. The effects of the decisions they make now will be felt in a decade, and we all know that it is

TOO MANY VARIABLES

Israel's strategic thinkers have to bank on the worst possible scenario in the unpredictable Middle East, writes Post Defence Correspondent HIRSH GOODMAN.



impossible to predict what will be in 10 years' time.

Israel cannot afford to be wrong, to be taken by surprise. Neither in war nor in peace.

There is another way of dealing with unpredictability if one's goal is vulnerability: the pursuit of an activist, aggressive policy designed to mould events, rather than be moulded by them. This approach has been very much the hallmark of the Begin government. It destroyed the nuclear reactor in Baghdad in order to preclude having to deal with an Iraqi nuclear bomb; it annexed the Golan Heights and is well on the way to the *de facto* annexation of the West Bank and Gaza.

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completed with 30,000 troops and 800 tanks tied down in Lebanon, caught in the cross-fire of a war it has no interest in. Israel would like to withdraw for similar reasons, but only after the government is assured that the northern border can be efficiently policed, and can show something more than just security arrangements to get it over the problem of having to justify Israel's longest and most controversial war to a questioning electorate.

The Lebanese want the Syrians and the Israelis out of their country (but the Americans and Europeans in) so that Beirut can reassert its sovereignty over Lebanon. And the Americans will agree to any solution that leaves a pro-Western Christian government in control of that important stretch of Mediterranean coast.

OF COURSE there are numerous other reasons why each of the parties would like to see a solution, but they need not concern us here. Despite the apparent lack of progress in the talks currently under way, there is a great deal of optimism on all sides that an answer will be found.

Israel, Lebanon and the U.S. basically accept the terms of the agreement — the problem is how to package it in a way that is acceptable to the various Lebanese power groups, to the Arab world which Lebanon is going to have to remain part of if it is going to survive, to the Israeli public, and, most important, to the Syrians, without whose approval any agreement would be worthless.

The process may take months, but its successful conclusion appears a safe bet. The real question

concerns the general course of the Middle East once the Lebanese problem is settled.

The war sparked off new diplomatic interest in the region.

President Reagan has tabled a peace plan and remains committed to it. When it was first made public, it was rejected out of hand by the Israelis, and Middle East experts said it would be unacceptable to any of the other parties to the conflict.

Whether the Arab world can ever accept a plan that explicitly states that there will not be a Palestinian state, remains to be seen, as does Jordan's willingness to enter into any meaningful confederation with the 1.3 million highly politicized inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. One can also be sceptical about Palestinian attitudes to the plan.

But the President of the United States remains convinced that it can work, and it has become the cornerstone of American policy. A country like Israel, which depends on American generosity, will have to bend to American pressure or face sanctions.

Much to the surprise of the sceptics, Hussein of Jordan seems to be more forthcoming than his previous behaviour led one to expect. He created the impression in Washington last month that he was prepared to participate in a process aligned to the Reagan proposals; and he is expected to make his agreement public when he visits Washington again in five weeks' time, just before Prime Minister Begin.

Hussein's willingness to negotiate could be either the result of a genuine desire to reach an agreement, or a shrewd move — ac-

cepting a process he knows cannot be implemented, appearing reasonable by comparison with Israel, and thus contributing to the deterioration of U.S.-Israel relations.

Whatever the reasons behind it, Hussein's endorsement of the Reagan plan will give it an impetus that will be almost impossible to resist. What is not clear is what course it will take.

Given the Israeli government's reactions to events it perceived as threatening in the past, its response to a process that could ultimately deprive it of control of the West Bank may be annexation: the creation of a new reality that is seemingly irreversible, of a new point of departure for any future process.

THE FIRST test will come when Begin visits the U.S. next month. Hussein is insisting on a settlement freeze as a precondition for talks. Reagan apparently supports the king's demand. So it looks like Israel will have a new war to fight, a diplomatic war.

It is this war over the future of the territories that will dominate the next decade. It will colour Israel's relations with the U.S. and set the tone of internal Israeli political debate. It will become an obstacle in the normalization process between Israel and Egypt, and perhaps the reason for a break in relations. It could become the issue around which Arab reconciliation is forged.

The centrality of the question of the West Bank and Gaza in the *Realpolitik* of the Middle East will generate a process of reevaluation among the Palestinians. The PLO was dealt a severe blow in Beirut, but it was not a mortal blow. Far more dangerous to the future of the PLO is the realization among both Palestinians and Arabs generally that adherence to the position that the PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinians can only serve Israeli obduracy, can only perpetuate the current situation in which Israel creates facts while the Arabs do nothing.

One can isolate events and try to apply logic to their progression. One can identify basic positions and use them as limits of analysis. But logic has never been a reliable yardstick in the past. There are too many factors and not enough rules for a neat picture to emerge.

Against this backdrop of unpredictability, those in government have to make their assessments and mould policy. The danger of being unprepared for unfolding reality is too great to allow objective difficulties to become an excuse for a policy vacuum.

It is clear that the focal point of future debate is going to be the Palestinian issue. It is also clear that the issue is highly problematic. Israel has begun by rejecting the proposed American solution. Jordan has made a first move towards accepting it. The American position is clear.

We could be on the threshold of a new cycle in the Middle East, on the verge of creating a new path for history. The result could be annexation, with all the implications of such a move, or a Palestinian state, with all the implications of that event. Or it could be something between these two.

But something will happen. It has to.

And what makes it all so frightening is that it is impossible to know what.

(Last in a series of three articles on Israel's strategic problems.)

CONTROVERSY

THE NEGOTIATIONS that have started between Israel and Lebanon do not represent just one more political stage among many. They represent a crossroads.

Despite initial doubts and suspicions and despite the mistakes which will undoubtedly be made, there can be no doubt that these negotiations may represent a new phase in relations between Israel and its neighbour to the North. Given this basic fact, it is imperative that everything possible be done to prevent the stormy public confrontations endemic to Israel's political life from dictating the character of the vital Israel-Lebanon negotiations.

Every international negotiation is, by its very nature, a process of progress and regression, of opening stances and lines of retreat, of wide-ranging demands and realistic compromises. Even in the first meetings between Israel and Lebanon, one saw how very complex it was going to be, particularly in view of the difficulties that the Lebanese face; the almost unbearable pressures of the Arab world and the additional factor of U.S. participation in the negotiations.

The Israeli delegation is going to have to navigate between these varied factors; to neutralize pressures and to demonstrate firmness and flexibility at the same time; to fight for every single point on the agenda and to make the minimal number of concessions and to try to get the maximum concessions from the Lebanese. At times, the delegation will be forced to demand far more than what seems reasonable in order to make sure of getting the minimum that is accep-

We publish on this page two sharply contrasting views on Israel's handling of the negotiations with Lebanon. Yosef Tekoah argues that the Israel government's objectives are not unrealistic. David Bernstein contends that Lebanon is too weak to defy the Syrians, who are firmly set against any genuine 'normalization' of ties between Beirut and Jerusalem.

Reasonable objective

By YOSEF TEKOA

Delays, stalemates and even the disruption of the negotiations will have to be taken as a matter of course — without losing sight of the main objectives.

These objectives are the removal of all foreign forces from Lebanon; the guarantee of security on Israel's northern border; and the normalization of relations between the two countries. These objectives, I believe, are acceptable to all Israelis, no matter what their political persuasion, with the possible exception of certain fringe elements. These objectives are not unrealistic, and there is, in fact, a good possibility of realizing all of them. There is also good reason to try to do so.

THE KIBITZING and the contention of some political circles in this country to the effect that Israel cannot possibly achieve these objectives and that it is useless to try can only be harmful. This sort of contention, in different guises, is voiced often enough by certain circles in the Lebanese and even the

state of normalization with Lebanon.

The absurdity of the claims, however, cannot be dismissed. No international treaty that I know of has been obtained by persuasion alone, without the added factor of armed might behind one of the signatories. How else have treaties and agreements been made but by the application of economic, political and military pressures?

One may call these pressures whatever one wishes — pressure, force, coercion — but one cannot ignore their importance in international negotiations.

THE ISRAELI military presence on Lebanese soil can certainly be termed such a pressure. This is true, understood and acceptable in international circles. Israel has the right to try to get the maximum advantage from this pressure in order to further its legitimate aims. Only those who do not share these aims could demand otherwise.

Many among us have sons at the front, in Lebanon. We would all

prefer to see them on the borders of Israel. But if there is a real possibility of increasing the chances for peace and security, for them and for ourselves, then shouldn't we all try to keep that in mind when we think of them there in the snows of Lebanon?

The citizens of Israel are not nearly so interested in who negotiates with Lebanon as they are in what will be accomplished in these negotiations.

Good luck to Menachem Begin, Ariel Sharon and Yitzhak Shamir; with their success, I too, as an Israeli citizen, will have succeeded. Even if I do not belong to their political party.

I will do or say nothing that would harm their chances of achieving Israel's objectives. On the contrary, I will look for every way possible to support and to aid them. And the best assistance they can get is the force of the entire nation behind them. If there is something to be said or commented on, it should be said, but not in a manner liable to enable foreign elements, interested in questioning and curbing Israel's objectives, to claim that even part of the people of Israel is ready to accept less than their government.

If the government of Israel fails to obtain the Israeli objectives, the nation will charge them with this at the proper time.

But if we ourselves harm the government's chances of achieving these objectives, then it is we who will be charged by the nation.

The writer is a former president of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and a leading member of the Likud Party. He was a director of the foreign ministry's armaments affairs division and an ambassador to the U.S.

Arik's tea party

By DAVID BERNSTEIN



country which shares a common destiny with itself in a largely hostile Arab world.

As long as contacts have been with the Christians in Lebanon, there has been some justification for this assumption — hence Sharon's ability to reach such broad agreement in his secret contacts with Lebanese officials who clearly represented the sentiments of the country's Christian minority.

There is, in fact, no reason to doubt that the public statements still being made by Phalange spokesmen in Lebanon genuinely represent the basically pro-Israeli sentiments of the bulk of that country's Christian population.

But the Lebanon of today represents a mosaic of political attitudes and those expressed by the Christians can no longer be assumed to be the dominant ones.

If, in fact, the broad-based government now installed in Beirut under Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan is more or less representative of Lebanon's fundamental political consensus is plainly biased against the Christians and their pro-Israel tilt and in favour of the Moslems and their anti-Israel position.

What is more Lebanon, unlike Egypt, is not the master of its own political destiny: with a long-standing political interest in Lebanon and a 30,000-strong army actually present on Lebanese soil, Syria — Lebanon's powerful Arab neighbour to the east and north — holds an effective veto over just what sort of deal Lebanon strikes with Israel.

And, as it has spelled out in several public statements in recent weeks, Damascus will not tolerate anything that will take Lebanon out of the general Arab orbit and into a special relationship with Israel — even if this falls short of an actual peace treaty.

Thus, in pressing for open borders, trade, tourism and other highly visible signs of "normalization," Israel is plainly flying in the face of Damascus and, if it persists, will eventually force Damascus to exercise its veto.

What Israel would do then, it is too early to say. But the recent ominous rumblings in the local press about the growing military threat from Syria will have done little to reassure those who would like to believe that the government is not leading us towards another confrontation with Syria. And this in its

bid to strike a deal with Lebanon that answers more to its own party political needs than it does to the broader security interests of the country.

MEANWHILE, the Mad Hatter's Tea Party goes on, with the dictionary-thumbing experts on the three negotiating teams meeting alternately in Haide and Kiryat Shmuna in an effort to arrive at some sufficiently vague formulation that could still mean "normalization" to Israel but something quite other to the Lebanese and their fellow Arabs.

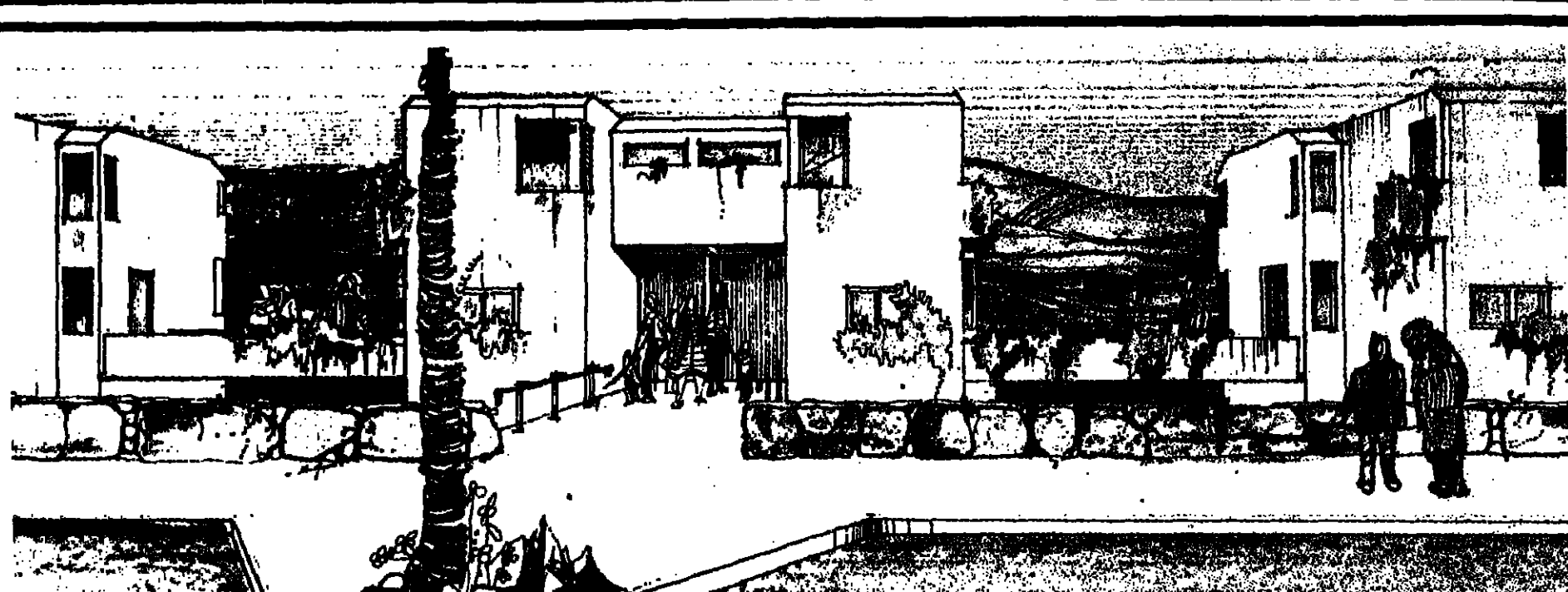
There is little reason to believe that their efforts will not eventually be crowned with success — arriving at formulations of this sort is, after all, a good deal of what diplomacy is about.

Alternatively, the negotiators may agree to side-step the issue for the time being in order to clear the way for talks on a first-phase withdrawal of foreign forces from Central Lebanon, where early agreement would appear to be relatively promising.

It can be only a matter of time, however, before the fundamental incompatibility between Israel and Lebanon on the shape of their future relationship makes nonsense of any solution the diplomats may think up to keep the "normalization" issue from torpedoing the talks before they have properly begun.

"Take some more tea," the March Hare said to Arik, very earnestly. "I've had nothing yet," Arik replied in an offended tone, "so I can't take more."

"You mean you can't take less," said the Hatter. "It's very easy to take more than nothing." The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Middle East Affairs Reporter.



SETTLEMENT AND SUBURBIA

The lure of low-price housing and open space has succeeded where Gush Emunim failed—in attracting large numbers of Israelis to live in Judea and Samaria. In the first of a series of articles, YOSEF GOELL examines the forces which have triggered the new wave of settlement activity.

"THEY'VE DONE only good things for us. How else could we have afforded to buy our own three-room flat after only five years of marriage, and at such a price? Our monthly mortgage payments are only about \$2,000" (\$66).

The voice happily describing how a "dream of a lifetime" had been realized came from a hitchhiker in the darkened back seat of our car. Her husband had flagged us down in Ma'aleh Adumim a few minutes before midnight, explaining that his wife had missed the last bus to Jerusalem. She was a nurse, on her way to work the overnight shift at Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus.

The nurse, together with her husband and their four-year-old daughter, moved to Ma'aleh Adumim a few months ago. They are one of the 800 families, mostly young, which since last summer have become residents of Jerusalem's newest bedroom suburb, 15 kms. from the city down the Jericho road.

A few weekends ago, several hundred families—remarkably similar in age and number of children although not in economic status to my Ma'aleh Adumim couple—were present when the cornerstone was laid for the new town of Nofim. All the way from Petah Tikva to the wind-swept Samaritan hilltop on which that Israeli "Levittown" will rise, one is assaulted by an endless row of signs advertising "Nofim—It's a great life."

IN THE past few months, thousands of young families have deluged the sales offices of private housing developers who are offering visions of villages, cottages and whole-dunam plots, and of liberation from the restrictions of concrete cells in multi-family dwellings. The remarkably low prices, based on almost absurdly low land and development costs, have also attracted a large number of older Israelis looking for a bargain, whether as a home or as a way to make a fast shekel. What all these schemes have in common is that they are located in the occupied ter-

ritories—or, if you prefer, Judea and Samaria.

Two years ago, in writing a series on the state of Israel settlement in the territories, I found a variety of interesting human and social phenomena. But politics aside, if that is possible in the Israel of the 1980's, I also felt that settlement in the territories was not then a serious development.

The first five years of settlement, marked by strenuous Gush Emunim efforts and, since 1977, by the full backing of the Begin government, had produced a Jewish population which numbered substantially less than 20,000, over two-thirds of them children. That figure was well below the annual natural rate of increase of the West Bank's Arabs. What also seemed clear in 1980 has been borne out in the ensuing two years—that Gush Emunim had come close to the bottom of the barrel in its search for ideologically motivated settlers.

THE PICTURE seems to have changed in the last few months. The best evidence of that change is the long line of young families attracted to Ma'aleh Adumim and Ariel, and being drawn by the advertisements

of Nofim, Tsavta, Alfei Menashe and other public and private land developers as moths are to the flame.

What seems to be at work is the Likud government's local application of the thesis that the cumulative social effect of personal greed can be of great benefit to society as a whole. Official plans for continuing settlement of the territories are now being based not on Gush Emunim zeal and personal sacrifice or on Herut talk, but on the harnessing of pressing personal needs and of the profit motive to the expansion of the Israeli presence in the territories.

Recently, Michael Dekel, the deputy minister of agriculture charged with that ministry's activities in the territories, and Mattityahu Drobles, the co-chairman of the World Zionist Organization's Settlement Department (the latter always stresses the crucial importance of differentiating between the WZO and the Jewish Agency because of U.S. tax restrictions on the use of funds donated through the United Jewish Appeal) reported on past progress and future plans to the Knesset Economic Committee. There are at present 76 Jewish

settlements in Judea and Samaria (besides the 31 in the Jordan Rift Valley). The population in them is about 25,000 in about 5,800 dwelling units.

Plans call for the establishment of another 42 settlements in the next four years, which together with the expansion of existing ones will provide an additional 21,500 dwelling units. The Jewish population should thus grow by another 80,000-100,000 by the end of 1986.

Most of this development is expected to take place in urban settlements like Ma'aleh Adumim, Ariel and Nofim, as opposed to the smaller community settlements which characterized the original Gush Emunim effort. The Arab population in Judea and Samaria is about 800,000.

Deputy Minister of Agriculture Dekel told me that while there isn't an up-to-date assessment of the costs entailed in settling one family in Judea and Samaria, it had cost the WZO Settlement Division an average of \$4.1m. to settle one family in smaller 60-family community settlements. This had included a basic investment in production infrastructure to

provide sources of income for the settlers.

He expressed confidence that the cost of settling families in the new, larger settlements being planned for 400-500 families would be significantly lower—about \$3-3.5 m. per family. Multiply this by 20,000 families, which is the number they plan to move there during the next four years, and you get a total of about \$70 billion. This of course pertains only to public expenditure.

In the past, public funds covered an average of 68 per cent of the actual cost of settling a family in the territories. In the new settlements, in the much sought after western edges of Samaria (Area Gimmel), as Dekel put it, the level of public participation will decline to 45-50 per cent.

One of the major developments that have made possible the progress to this second stage of settlement in the territories is the greater availability of land. This has come about in two ways. In recent years, Mrs. Leah Albeck of the Ministry of Justice has carried out a painstaking title search regarding ownership of lands in the West Bank. Ya'acov Reitelson, chairman of the council of the Samaria town of Ariel told me:

"At first we ranted and railed against her because we thought that her nit-picking approach would put a crimp in rapid settlement and development. Now we know that her work was of extreme importance. We know that if Mrs. Albeck says that a certain bloc of land is clearly state property it is absolutely so and there is no obstacle to settlement on it."

Much of the land in the West Bank is state land, and has been such from the time of the Ottoman Empire through the British Mandate and through the Hashemite Kingdom's stewardship. This is especially true on the arid eastern slopes that lead down to the Jordan Rift Valley. In the heavily populated mountain spine area and on the somewhat less-populated western slopes of Samaria, land ownership has often been very vague.

Even after Mrs. Albeck's

meticulous research, one of the major problems is that state lands are often criss-crossed by privately owned properties, making it difficult to assemble tracts large enough for urban settlement.

Nofim is sited in the middle of a nature preserve that has existed through Mandatory and Hashemite times. The Nature Protection Society considers Nofim an encroachment on one of the few remaining havens for Mediterranean region flora in the barren Samaritan hill area.

THE SECOND development that has progressed quietly over the years is the private purchase of lands from individual Arab landowners by private Israelis. It is estimated that about 30,000 dunams have been bought in such fashion over the last few years.

Part of these private lands has been sold to the Lands Administration for public settlement. But for the most part they form the reservoir for the spurge of private settlement schemes that have sprung up during the last few months.

An interesting development is that under the impact of the defeat of the PLO in Lebanon, and the demoralization of PLO supporters in the territories, the readiness of local Arabs to sell land has grown. Under Jordanian law, the sale of Arab land to Jews is punishable by death. Several years ago a number of Arabs who were active as go-betweens in such deals were assassinated by the PLO.

The entire subject is still very much a hush-hush one, and there is still a great deal of fear connected with such dealings, in addition to the obvious Palestinian patriotic opposition to such sales. But both of these factors seem to have been weakened somewhat in the last half year, both as a result of the events in Lebanon and of the tough policies adopted by the Israeli civil administration on the West Bank.

In the absence of Mattityahu Drobles, the chairman of the WZO's Settlement Department, who was busy politicking on the establishment of a new WZO Executive, I spoke with division spokesman Ze'ev Ben-Yosef. He said that the department's plans calling for 100,000-130,000 Jews in Judea and Samaria in four years' time and 1.3 million at the end of 30 years, were based on studies of land ownership and utilization in the area, and on projections for the development of the Arab population there, he said.

It was found, Ben-Yosef said, that 70 per cent of the land was neither privately owned nor farmed or otherwise occupied by the indigenous Arab population. Projections, he added, put the Arab population at 1.6 million at the end of 30 years, compared to today's 800,000, if one ignores the fact that Arabs will also be leaving these territories as they have in the past 15 years.

As for the projection for Jewish "demand" for resettlement in new locales for the next 30 years, this showed a figure of 1.4 million Israeli Jews seeking such a move. Ben-Yosef stressed that this potential would come only from the overcrowded Coastal Plain areas and would not drain off Jewish population from Jerusalem, the Galilee or the Negev.

These projections set the goals for settlement policy, Ben-Yosef declared. It was possible to settle 1.4 million Jews alongside the 1.6 million Arabs in Judea and Samaria without overcrowding and without

their bothering one another. This will also result in raising the standard of living of the Arabs, he asserted.

Turning ideological, Ben-Yosef added: "Anyone who is truly afraid of creating a bi-national state should be all in favour of raising the Arabs' standard of living and of education. To date we have found that these are the major factors inducing them to leave for elsewhere."

In January 1980, the ever-devoted personal spokesman continues, Drobles prepared a memorandum calling for the activation of private enterprise in the settlement drive. The idea is that of dangling the prospect of a 150sq.m.-plus villa in front of privacy-starved Greater Tel Avivians at the price of a standard Tel Aviv apartment.

"The idea, eventually—that is within the next 30 years—is to remove the centre of balance of Jewish settlement in this country from the coastal strip to the mountain areas, as it was in Biblical days."

WHEN ONE DESCENDS from these heady clouds of vision to the mundane terra firma of bureaucratic Israel, all is not well. Recently, the Knesset Finance Committee refused to approve a Treasury request to transfer \$375 million from the budget for agricultural settlement to that of urban settlement in the territories. Last week the committee reversed itself and approved the sum, itself an indication of a shift in emphasis to the building of a smaller number of larger settlements.

In the Knesset Economic Committee, the director-general of the Ministry of Housing recently warned that his ministry would refuse to carry out infrastructure work on projects whose planning had not been coordinated with the ministry. Housing's *bête noir* has been Deputy Minister of Agriculture Dekel, who has been promising governmental support to private projects which had not been approved by the cabinet's inter-ministerial committee on settlement or coordinated with the Ministry of Housing.

Dekel had been reprimanded earlier by his own minister, Simha Ehrlich, for his support for Nofim. When I interviewed him last week, the Ministry of Housing's head of the Rural Building Division, Yossi Margalit, also offered Nofim as a problematic example of jumping the gun.

"Nofim may yet succeed, but it's very iffy. They are no contractors and we don't know if they have enough financial backing to really pull off their schemes. The private firms we work with all have contracting experience, proven financial ability backed by bank guarantees and also have long established sales offices."

Perhaps in response to this sort of criticism, Nofim has recently signed on the prestigious firm of Anglo-Saxon realtors as its sales agent.

In the area itself, older settlers give free rein to their scepticism regarding the private capital newcomers, notwithstanding their obvious interest in attracting as many new settlers as possible.

But it is clear that there is major movement on the settlement front in Judea or Samaria, as opposed to the crawling progress of the first stage.

(This is the first of a series of articles.)

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PEOPLE/THE ARTS

NOW THAT Prime Minister Menachem Begin has seen President Yitzhak Navon and his wife Ofra off to the U.S., the premier will have time to get ready for his own meeting next month with President Ronald Reagan. Those who should know say that Begin's Washington mission has been made easier by the escalating anti-U.S. statements of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon.

It was explained to me that it is useful for Begin to have the Unstoppable Arik as his "wild man." After all, doesn't it make the Premier seem moderate and reasonable by comparison? And that, I was told, would make any Begin concessions at the White House even more newsworthy.

SPEAKING OF unstopables, Chief of Staff Ruv-Aluf Rafael (Rafal) Elan sounds more and more like a senior Herut spokesman every day. As his April 16 retirement date draws nearer and nearer, Rafal escalates his attacks, particularly on the Labour opposition for "lack of patriotism."

In political circles, they're saying that whenever Rafal meets with Sharon he takes a careful look at the minister's chair. Perhaps the C-o-S is thinking of taking the seat back to his Tel Adashim carpentry shop for some alterations.

QUICK CHANGE DEPT: The NRP leadership is suddenly discovering its old moderate image. Interior Minister Yosef Burg, hitherto a loyal supporter of the Likud line in the autonomy talks, has announced that "there's no calamity in seeking a compromise with the Arab states," at a study day on religious parties at Bar-Ilan University, held in memory of the late editor of *Hatsaf*, Yitzhak Don-Yitzy. Burg even claimed "already back in 1967 I warned against the danger of Messianic ideas as a basis for political action."

ANYONE REMEMBER what Begin used to sarcastically call "the historic quarrel" between Finance Minister Yoram Aridor and Israel TV's economic correspondent Eliahu Spiegelman? Well that *brölles* is so well buried that Aridor is short-

Paving the way for Begin

PUBLIC FACES / Mark Segal



Ora Namir

Shoshana Arbell-Almosino

ly appointing Spiegelman to a much sought-after information job with the Israel economic mission in New York.

KUDOS. In an updated version of his book *The Knesset*, Labour MK and Haifa University political scientist Shoshana Arbell-Almosino (both Labour) Shulamit Aloni (CRM) and Geula Cohen (Tehiya). He argues that women politicians display a greater sense of public duty than the menfolk.

Aloni, the most vocally feminist of the quartet, last week told *Na'amat* the Histadrut women's magazine, that politically-involved wives can often hamper their husbands' careers. She disclosed that back in 1961, when she had just plunged into the political race, her husband Reuven — then assistant director of Israel Lands Authority — was advised by then agriculture minister, the late Moshe Dayan, that he would not be promoted to director "because of your wife's political

on the government to provide the other \$7m.

The real news was that they have persuaded Yitzhak (Itzik) Kol to leave the Herzliya Film and TV studios after 15 years to become their new project's general manager.

Having just completed the filming of a new soft porn version in Italy of *Emile Zola's Nana* with Mandy Rice-Davies in a leading role, Golan announced a \$10 million production here of a TV series about *Moshe Dayan*. The script will be written by the two Dayan children, novelist Yael Dayan-Slon and film actor-director Assaf Dayan. Globus will produce and Golan direct the production, to be based on three of Dayan's books, the rights of which Golan acquired from Mrs. Rachel Dayan.

THE MOVEMENT for a Better Israel is planning a "Black Book" in its campaign against verbal violence by public figures, whether in the Knesset, the Zionist Congress or in civic life. Movement chairman Judge Micha Lindentraus has written to Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo (Chiech) Lahat, advising him that he will appear in the Black Book for having screamed at Geula Cohen "I've got more sense in my shoe than you have in your entire head." Labour MK Eliahu Spieser has already told Chich: "It's perfectly true. All your sense is in your shoe."

WHAT A WAIF. Rafi Nelson, who owns the holiday village at Taba, the disputed area south of Eilat, last week made news of a kind by sending a telegram to Elizabeth Taylor, reading as follows: "I'm an orphan Stop. I lost an eye in the war Stop. Please adopt me. Stop."

Has anyone noticed the curious coincidence that La Taylor — like Israel-visiting movie stars Jane Fonda and Farah Fawcett — suffered a sprained or broken foot here?

FILM PRODUCER Menachem Golan used the visit of Brooke Shields starring in his movie "Sahara" to announce last week that he and his partner, Yoram Globus, are building a studio complex plus an airfield at Ma'aleh Adumin, near Jerusalem. They are to invest \$1m, and apparently rely

a century apart, we both arrived here at the same age, and our first stop was Jerusalem.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES. Our favourite astrologer, Ilan Pecker, sees elections in the stars for 1983. And he also has the following predictions about some of our most public faces:

— Yitzhak Navon, an Aries, will indeed take the plunge into politics, but only after a year out of public office;

— Shimon Peres, like Menachem Begin born under the Leo sign, will see his prospects for the premiership recede even more;

— Arik Sharon and Yitzhak Rabin, both will have exciting years. Pecker says that Sharon is in for a political crisis, which he will weather, while Rabin too can expect an unspecified change.

— Yitzhak Shamir, a Libra, has the best chance of succeeding Begin;

— Yoram Aridor, a Scorpio, will entrench his power as a political king-maker. But King Hussein of Jordan, who shares the same sign, is nearing the end of his 30-year cycle;

— Ronald Reagan, an Aquarius, may be in his last year in the White House.

RAUX PAS DEPT. Did anyone wonder why Recha Freier, the 91-year-old founder of Youth Aliya, wasn't at the Youth Aliya session of the 30th Zionist Congress? The answer, given by Mrs. Freier in a letter to *Ha'aretz* last week, is amazingly simple. "I wasn't invited," she said.

When we inquired, WZO spokesman Zvi Eyal was most apologetic. It was merely an oversight on the part of the Congress organizers. It appears that Freier had turned down an invitation to the Congress opening session, and the organizers "thought she didn't want to come" to the Youth Aliya meeting.

But Eyal assured us that Freier will be invited to the launching of Youth Aliya's Jubilee Year, at Beit Hanassi later this month. We certainly hope so.

FOCUS

And how's your massacre today?



The three-member commission of inquiry into the Beirut massacre (from left to right): Supreme Court Justice Aharon Barak, Supreme Court President Yitzhak Kahan and General (reserves) Yona Efrat. (Rahamim Israeli)

By EPHRAIM KISHON

I MET this pleasant young man in a country of the civilized West, where he had come to see me on behalf of the Culture Mag of a large radio station, never mind which. He was very decorous, this young reporter, very polite, and very embarrassed. He sat, put a list of prepared questions about Art & Lit on his knees, and shakily pressed the buttons on his tape recorder.

"My first question, sir, is whether recent events have had any influence on your writing."

"Which events?"

"Recent..."

The young man dropped his eyes and was silent. I was silent too.

"I mean," he broke it at last, "this business in Lebanon."

"What business?"

"This... you know..."

viewer. An open face. A nice young man of good family, no doubt of it. "It was a bloody massacre," he explains for my benefit. "A fearful massacre."

"Who perpetrated it?"

He fumbles with his notes. "It was a brutal act of revenge," he mutters, "this dreadful massacre."

"Brutal revenge by whom?"

THE REELS of his tape recorder turn with a gentle swish. The reporter's lips are compressed into a thin straight line. I have seen those tight lips before. Long, long ago, in another country of Europe.

"Young man," I say to him, "you may consider this interview terminated unless you tell me who did the killing in those camps."

The sweat breaks out on his forehead. He is on his third cigarette.

ANOTHER brief pause. I try to guess his age. Twenty something. A decent young man, born a clean dozen years after the overthrow of Nazism in Europe.

"Excuse me," I say, "the subject of this interview was to be literature, if I'm not mistaken."

"Certainly, sir."

"Then let's talk books. Let's talk about modern Hebrew poetry."

"Very well, sir," the young man readily agrees. "Did any of the poets in your country write about those events?"

"Which events?"

"In the refugee camps..."

His eyes shift again, his fingers strangle the mike.

"I mean," he clears his throat, "this massacre."

He licks his lips on "massacre" as though licking the taste.

"Whose massacre?" I enquire.

"The massacre of Palestinian women and children."

I ask about the identity of the perpetrators: who are they?

The young reporter stares into space.

"I'm asking you who committed this mass murder in the refugee camps. Who?"

The young man says nothing.

"I'll ask you one last time: who are these killers of women and children? Who - are - they?"

No answer. I look at my inter-

"It hasn't been settled yet." He takes a deep breath. "You have this commission of inquiry investigating Begin's part in the massacre. I've also seen pictures from a UN display; a demonstration against the massacre in Tel Aviv, with slogans in English about Begin and Sharon being murderers like Hitler."

His cheeks are flushed, his hands tremble. He's having a bad time.

"Do you know what you're saying?" I flare up. "Did you ever hear about mass demonstrations against Hitler? Did he ever order an inquiry to be held against himself and his cabinet under pressure of public opinion? Right, there's been grave negligence on our part, an unforgivable lack of judgement, and those responsible will be brought to account. But, can't you see that what is happening in Israel today isn't fascism, as you imply, but the opposite — democracy in the highest sense of the word?"

A sarcastic smile appears on the young man's face. He pulls hard on his cigarette.

"Sharon admitted in your parliament that he had supported the massacre, didn't he?"

"Where did you get hold of that?" I ask.

"It was in a TV feature on the

massacre, sir."

Aha, Sharon, you may remember, informed the Knesset at the time that Israel had for years been supporting the Phalangists, who committed the ruthless killings in the refugee camps. That same evening, nearly every television station in Europe, along with the most respectable papers, reported with admirable brevity: "Sharon admits: I supported the massacre." Like that. Word for word. I saw it with my own eyes.

IT'S MY TURN to take a deep breath.

"My friend," I tell the reporter, "let's say Sharon gets a high from murdering women and children. Do you think an old pro like him would stand up in the Knesset and broadcast it to the TV cameras of half the world?"

The reporter squirms. He's got Tinnerman written all over him.

"You lit up the camps for them during the massacre."

"For whom?"

"For the massacre perpetrators."

I feel the blood rushing to my head.

"Say 'Christian Phalangists' just once, goddammit!"

The reporter keeps silent. Like hell he'll say it. Phalangists. Christian. Not him. His lips are narrow, bloodless.

"I'm no anti-Semite, sir," he assures me at last. "I just want to know how you, as an Israeli writer, feel about this massacre you held."

"So it was we who did it, was it?"

I recall a one-inch item in Europe's press about the systematic extermination of Indian peasants in Guatemala. And didn't I also see a back-page mention of Ethiopia the other day, apropos the weekly carnage of thousands of villagers or something? The number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan's camps has passed the three million, but who wants to know about that?

"Please," my young mind-reader says, "about this massacre: the point is, you see, that we expect more of you than of others."

"Why?"

"Because you are Jews. You're a moral people. A free, democratic state, not a repressive dictatorship like your neighbours."

"Bravo!" I cry. "Great. That pious formula, young man, allows your media to vilify moral, democratic Israel, and turn it into an immoral, blood-thirsty country in the public mind, while the repressive and bloody dictatorships are immune from criticism on account of their low moral standard, and your media present them to the public as a bunch of saints."

The reporter blinks.

"I didn't quite get that," he confesses, "but with respect, sir, I'm surprised that you, as a Holocaust survivor yourself, should condone such a fearful massacre, the massive slaughter of innocent..."

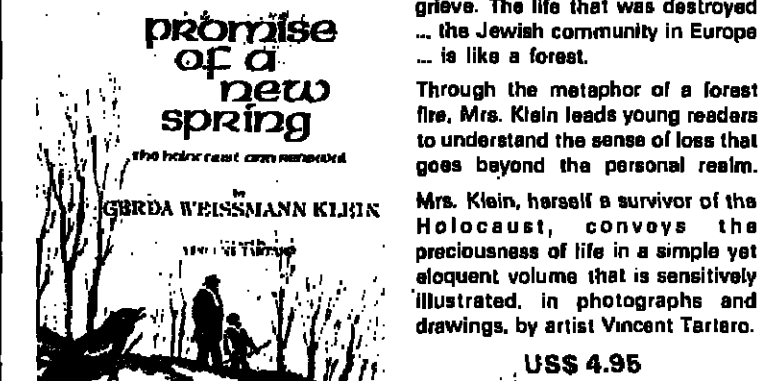
I ROSE without a word, picked up my coat and left. I wasn't even angry with the awkward young man of the Culture Mag. The world is full of his likes these days. He truly believes he's no anti-Semite at all. As for me, I truly believe that Nazism is back; or rather, that it has never gone away and is only coming into itself again, with all the verve of a new generation. Six million dead bought us a 30-year breathing space in the history of human civilization, and we did not realize it was only a lull. Now the referee has blown the whistle, and the game can go on.

Translated by Miriam Arad

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On the local stage

An occasional column to give an idea of what is going on in the Israeli theatre. The number of performances at particular venues varies. The list is not complete.

All programmes are in Hebrew unless otherwise stated.

BRURIYA — The Jerusalem Drama Workshop in a dramatization of Talmudic and Midrashic sources, presenting the life of an enigmatic woman — relevant to our own day. Directed by Joyce Miller (Pargod)

LITERARY EVENING — Renaissance poetry. (Israel Museum, Monday at 8.30 p.m.)

ENCHANTED NIGHT — By Marobek. Directed by Hadas Ofrit. (Karon Theatre)

THE OTHERS KARASIAZOV — Dostoevsky. Habimah production. (Habimah)

CAIRO, FEBRUARY '78 — By Yizhak Ben-Ner. Directed by Yizhak Ben-Ner. (Habimah)

GHOST ON TIPTOE — Comedy by Robert Milder. Performed in an animated playreading by the ZOA House Drama Circle. Directed by Judy Wilson. In English. (ZOA House)

DOGS — By C.P. Taylor. Cameri production, directed by Ilan Rosen. (Tzviya)

GROS CALIN — Emile Ajar's play translated, adapted by and starring Nika Nital. (Jaffa, Hasmita)

THE GROCER'S SHOP — By Hillel Mithelpunkt. Habimah production. (Habimah)

THE TYAR CONNECTION — By Jonathan Gofen. Directed by Itzik Weingarten. (Beit Lezin)

THE LESSON — By Joneco. Directed by Tami Lederer. (Hasmita)

LITTLE INVASIONS — Tragic-comedy based on the works by Basile Havel and Pavel Kohut. Translated and adapted by Nika Nital. (Hasmita)

NOISES OFF — By Michael Frayn. Cameri production. (Cameri)

THE PATRIOT — The Theatre Group in a satirical cabaret by Hanech Levine. Directed by Oded Koller. (Neve Zedek Theatre Centre)

SILENT THEATRE — Pantomime with Pablo Ariel. (Hasmita)

TASHMAD — Written and directed by Samuel Hasefi. With Yigal Gonor, Shlomo Toledo, Nadav Ben-Yehuda, Hanna Azulai. (Neve Zedek)

THE THREEPENNY OPERA — Musical by Brecht. Habimah production. (Habimah)

A JEWISH SOUL — By Yehoshua Sobol. Haifa Theatre production. (Municipal Theatre)



Jean-Léon Gérôme (France, 1824-1904): Right, "Jew at the Temple of Solomon," pencil (a study which Gérôme later turned into a rather anti-Semitic caricature in a subsequent painting; see above) and now on view at a show of French 19th century master drawings at the Israel Museum's I.M. Cohen Print Gallery. Represented are Impressionists like Pissarro, Monet, Manet, Renoir, Sisley and Signac, as well as Decamps, Delacroix, "Dehodenq, Daumier, Gavarni, Cezanne, Lalanne and others. The show is the first in a planned series entitled "Tip of the Iceberg," in which parts of the Museum's submerged collection will be displayed in various contexts.

"HELP ME get out of prison!" This plea was written by Israeli *agunot* (women trapped in unhappy marriages because their husbands refuse to grant them divorces) in a letter which will be circulated among rabbis in Israel and abroad.

Eighteen of these unfortunate women (and more are being sought) signed the letter at a meeting sponsored by Mitzvah, the League for Family Rights in the Courts, which was held in Tel Aviv last month.

"Our rabbis are timid," said Sylvia Mandelbaum, founder of Mitzvah. "We don't want to say anything against them because we are in favour of the Halacha (Jewish law), and the rabbinical courts do give prompt attention to cases where we've helped couples draw up the agreement."

"Nevertheless, the fact is that the *agunot* problem could be solved if the rabbis and rabbinical courts would implement the Halacha as it should be implemented."

Divorce court with adversary procedure is a gentle concept, according to Mandelbaum. In Jewish law, divorce requires agreement: the husband gives the divorce and the wife receives it.

"When they go into court, they have to make accusations against each other and it's all in the public record. The children can come back years later and read that their mother was a prostitute and their father a drug addict. Never mind whether any of it is true or not."

"Our sages said that shaming another person is like shedding blood. If gentiles have begun using mediation in divorce cases instead of adversary proceedings, why can't we, when agreement is what our Halacha says anyway?"

Mandelbaum added that she was trained as a real estate negotiator in the United States and uses similar techniques in negotiating amicable divorces or, where possible, reconciliations.

"When lawyers handle a case, one side wins and the other side loses," she said. I was trained — and I now train Mitzvah's volunteer



(Then Weiss)

The 'chains' of marriage

Lea Levavi reports on the latest activities of Mitzvah, the organization which aids women trapped in unhappy marriages.

procedures of getting through the divorce courts. (Sometimes the man who finally agrees to give the divorce changes his mind while waiting weeks or months for the scribe to prepare the bill of divorce.)

He also suggested that women should use demands for higher maintenance as a way to get their husbands to want to divorce them, in place of Maimonides' suggestion that the husband be beaten until he agrees to divorce his wife.

Levine's other suggestion, which has already been tried successfully by Mitzvah in several cases, is to hold a demonstration in front of the husband's place of employment demanding that he give his wife her freedom. The embarrassment is often sufficient to make the husband opt for divorce.

One of the women present told how she had played the part of the lover in order to get her husband to divorce her.

"I smothered him with so much love, though it made me sick, that he finally wanted to get rid of me. I didn't have a lawyer and I convinced the rabbis in the court to throw his lawyer out on the grounds that his presence was unnecessary and meddlesome in a dispute between the man I had married and myself."

"Usually," she went on, "it's the man who claims he wants *shalom bait* (marital peace) rather than divorce. But I took that card out of his hands and told the rabbis I wanted maintenance payments and marital peace, even though I really wanted a divorce."

The other women at the meeting, however, didn't think they could follow her example. Some have been litigating in the courts for 20 years. One woman of only 23 has spent six years — nearly her whole married life — fighting for divorce.

Women complained that their husbands use extortion, demanding property or money in exchange for the divorce. Often, they complained, husbands drag out litigation by not showing up for hearings

or arranging for themselves or their lawyers to be conveniently "called up" for army service on the date of the hearing, whereupon the court sets a new date several months later.

All these issues are explained in the letter being prepared for circulation to the rabbis who, Mitzvah hopes, will come up with some new and creative solutions.

"Litigation in the divorce courts is an old road blocked by a lot of broken-down cars," according to Mandelbaum. "Our mediation counselling process is a new super-highway to marital peace."

"When women are stuck in these marriages for years, the result is either the birth of bastards, when married women find other sexual partners, or no births. I would almost call it genocide, in the case of religious women who refrain from seeking other partners."

She explained that Mitzvah advocates a premarital agreement which will set out how property is to be divided if the marriage breaks up, and which might even specify conditions under which the husband will have to grant a divorce.

"We hope our letter will influence rabbis and Tora scholars to consider implementing such an agreement — which is in keeping with the Halacha — because it is really an updating of the *ketuba* and *nai* which are a part of Jewish marriage and were originally meant as protection for the wife."

Mandelbaum explained that her organization is turning to rabbis abroad "because we hope their input may influence rabbis here, and also because the problem of *agunot* is becoming more and more serious for observant Jewish women abroad, for whom civil remedies are not sufficient."

Mitzvah is always looking for volunteers to be trained as mediators or to help with its growing administrative work.

Though the emphasis is on women, Mitzvah also helps men whose wives refuse to accept a divorce and trap the husband in the marriage.

SPORTS

Man of the year

It is unfortunately not very hard to select the Israeli Sportsman of the Year, since the competition is not all that keen. Few outstanding performances were registered.

Shlomo Glickstein continued to play very good tennis on the international circuit, and at one stage had risen as high as 22 in the ATP computer rankings. He reached several quarter-finals and semi-finals. He also did well in non-Grand Prix tournaments. But, towards the end of the year, he dropped back to about 30 in the rankings.

Considering how fierce the competition in the circuit is, and how many young players, highly trained and technically very accomplished, are fighting their way up, while older stars refuse to fade, Glickstein's feat of staying in the same place in the rankings cannot be minimised.

We chose him as Sportsman of the Year in 1981. To hold the title, we expect him, perhaps unreasonably, to raise the level of his game to new heights. This he did not do.

The feat of improving on very, very good was certainly attained by Maccabi Tel Aviv's basketball star, Earl Williams, who, incidentally, became a Jew and an Israeli in the

course of 1982. He continued to defend and to collect rebounds with the skill and determination he had always displayed. But, in the European Cup games that have been played recently, he has risen, physically and figuratively, to new heights as an attacker and scorer of baskets.

Nor can we disregard his teammate, Mickey Berkowitz, who, on his day, must be one of the fastest and most brilliant offensive players in the European game, as well as being an expert at surprise interventions in defence. Always a remarkable shot at the basket, towards the end of 1982 he was pulling off shots worthy of a member of the Harlem Globetrotters. But it must be admitted that he does have his bad moments.

The most dramatic individual success of the year was undoubtedly achieved by Oded Machness, the Netanyahu Maccabi striker, who displayed an appetite for goals equal to that of a cannibal who has not found a missionary for weeks. In the record of goal-scorers in the National Soccer League, it was Machness first, the rest nowhere — he scored 26 goals last season, and has already whetted his appetite this season with 15.

Against a background of a



Oded Machness

paucity of goals in the League, and with other forwards seeming incapable of exploiting opportunities to score, Machness shines like a good deed in a naughty world.

So our title of Israeli Sportsman of the Year goes to Oded Machness.

Woman of courage

The title of Israeli Sportswoman of the Year was bestowed by us last year on Zehava Shmueli, the long distance runner, who broke several Israeli records in 1981 and finished 25th out of 2,500 women running in the New York Marathon.

This year she achieved one remarkable result, coming sixth among the women in the Boston Marathon. Unfortunately, she was unable to compete in many more meets or tournaments owing to injury, so we have to disregard her. The tennis players had a bad year.

Hadar Rubinstein, the 15-year-old swimmer from Kiryat Ono, showed remarkable improvement, and in the national swimming championships, added three national records to the two she already held. She certainly must be considered as the best of our sportswomen. Yet she must still improve to reach international level.

This cannot be said of Zippy Rubin, Israel's 36-year-old wheelchair athlete. She contracted polio at the age of four, and has been crippled virtually all her life. Yet she has won 59 medals at the Olympic Games for the Physically Disabled and the International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Handicapped.

This year she broke the world record for a javelin throw for women — 19.75m. — and the world record for the shot put — 7.45m. These successes were achieved in the Stoke Mandeville Games in August, where she also collected silver medals in the discus and basketball. She is the most successful wheelchair athlete in history. So we choose her as our Israeli Sportswoman of the Year.



Zippy Rubin

These comments are by "The Post's" Philip Gilton and Yaron Kenan.)

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The Jerusalem Post Family Library

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THE JERUSALEM POST INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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Home is where parents are

JERUSALEM POST REPORTER
HAIFA — Merhavia, the veteran left-wing Mapam kibbutz near Afula, has broken ranks with the Kibbutz Artzi movement and moved its pre-school children into the homes of their parents, contrary to the movement's accepted norm of having the youngsters stay together in children's houses.

Movement secretary Dov Peleg told *The Jerusalem Post* last week that the matter will be brought up for debate at the next annual meeting of Kibbutz Artzi in the summer. He did not deny that the move by Merhavia, the home of movement stalwart Meir Ya'ari, "embarrassed us."

The secretary of Merhavia, Ruta

Klein, told *The Post* that the pre-school children have already moved in with their parents, though older children remain in the children's houses. Several dozen children were involved in the "educational, social and ideological" revolution, which had caused "many arguments and a lot of stomach aches" in the 54-year-old kibbutz.

She said the agitation for the change had been started by a small group of members, which grew until a recent general meeting adopted their stand by "quite a large majority." They were aware that Kibbutz Artzi objected to the change — since long introduced in other kibbutz movements — "but all the same the decision was carried."

Minister shows healthy way

The Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee got a natural foods meal (*Havonim*) last week and a prediction from natural foods enthusiast Minister Mordechai Ben-Porat, over the wheat-germ bread and the fruit, that Israel could save \$250 million a year if it imported less meat, writes Knesset Correspondent Asher Wallfish.

Sugar and salt were absent from the sample lunch, served in the wake of a mission for the agenda presented in the plenum last year by Ben-Porat before he became minister without portfolio.

Ben-Porat said a special health centre should be established where people could learn how to avoid fatty and unhealthy foods. "A lot of Israelis want to go over to a proper diet but they don't know how," he said.

He demanded that wheat-germ be granted the same Treasury subsidy as milled flour, saying that "the government cannot ignore the 50,000 natural food enthusiasts and vegetarians in this country."

Unfair to fair cop

LAUGHTER from her male co-workers greeted Pagan (chief inspector) Lea Goldman, head of Tel Aviv's traffic department, when she announced that she intended to continue to rise in the ranks of the police department, even as far as to sub-district commander.

Undaunted by the reaction, she went on to say to her audience of 100 policemen and the Tel Aviv district command officers (who are men), that she managed a career and a family just fine. A woman, she said, can fulfil any role in the police force providing she is willing to invest time and effort in it.

The members of the Tel Aviv force were attending a symposium for and about policewomen which was held recently at the Apurpos café, and sponsored by the Na'amat women's organization. Journalist Bruria Avidan Brir acted as moderator.

Following Goldman's statement, Pagan Ziva Agami, head of the public complaints department of the force, took the microphone.

"Why is it considered funny that a woman wants to or is able to reach the top?" she asked. "This laughter reflects the prevalent male conception that a woman is incapable of reaching the top."



Agami told her audience that very few men in the police force are ready to accept the idea of a woman "boss" and this — and not women's limitations — is preventing them from rising in the ranks.

Brir asked Agami if she thought a woman would lose her "femininity" in a senior police post.

"Every person loses something and gains something when adapting to a new post," Agami replied. "The only difference is that when a woman identifies with her job, it is regarded as a contradiction to her femininity. When a man behaves the same way, regardless of his individual character, no contradiction is perceived."

Rav-Pagan (Superintendent) Heruta Har'el said during the dis-

cussion that despite certain improvements in women's positions, several senior police posts are still out of bounds to women. In any given post, women have to work twice as hard and be twice as good to prove they are as good as men.

Deputy-Inspector Irit Haijamil said that married women are not promoted as rapidly as single ones on the force, which tends to view married officers as a "lost cause."

Speaking at the end of the symposium, District Commander Nitzav Avraham Turgeman said that when he interviewed a woman for a post, he always took her marital status into consideration, for working at certain posts is incompatible with being a wife and mother.

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

AMERICAN DOUBLESPEAK

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The September 1 speech by President Reagan was not the same peace plan with which Prime Minister Begin, opposition leader Shimon Peres, and the Arab governments were presented.

On August 31, U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis brought to Prime Minister Begin what is called here in the U.S. "Talking Paper," or "Talking Points," or "Reagan's Letter." The differences between the "Talking Points" and the televised "Speech" explain why Begin reacted so vehemently and abruptly to such a reasonable, pleasantly presented, bold initiative for peace as Reagan's televised speech appeared to be. Begin has been criticized by his friends and enemies for such an undignified outburst. Many American Jews were embarrassed by such an unseemly display of rejection against Israel's only apparent ally in today's world.

The Talking Points were also designed by Secretary of State George P. Shultz, and shown to Shimon Peres, who gave it his qualified support.

The Talking Points were also offered to the Arab countries before Begin saw them. Shultz received encouragement from the Arabs prior to the President's official speech.

ZIONIST LEADERSHIP

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I must express surprise at the many inaccuracies in the article by Eliezer Jaffe of December 26, "The 30th Zionist Congress Circumstances."

1. I have not held the dual position of serving as a member of the Zionist Executive and of the Zionist General Council. No member of the Executive can do so legally. In anticipation of my leaving the Executive of the WZO at the 30th Zionist Congress, I was elected to serve on the new Zionist General Council.

2. I have never been Chairman of the American Zionist Federation.

3. My assignment as a member of the WZO Executive was to serve as Chairperson for the American Section. My assignment on the Board of Governors (not the Executive) of the Jewish Agency was to chair higher education.

4. All members of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency

served on a Caesarea commission. My assignment was the aliya and kfiya commission.

I only recently accepted election as President of the Jewish National Fund in the U.S. because I was concluding my term on the WZO Executive and so once again there is no overlapping of activity in my holding this position.

As a serious Zionist leader, I consider it my responsibility to be actively engaged in positive efforts wherever possible, and wish that more Zionist leaders would also feel this way. To serve on a board without assuming committee assignments is non-productive and an avoidance of a vital obligation of leadership.

With regard to the urgently needed reform in the structure and method of operation of the WZO, may I refer Dr. Jaffe to my speech at the congress in which I called for a "project renewal" for the WZO.

CHARLOTTE JACOBSON
New York.

WZO COMPTROLLER'S REPORT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — A few points about the WZO Comptroller's report of December 10.

When I became World Chairman of Keren Hayesod in March 1978, we discovered a number of administrative weaknesses which we subsequently corrected. The Comptroller's report primarily dealt with that budgetary year and those procedures which I and our new director-general, appointed in 1980, have improved.

Our budget is approved, not only by the WZO, but by a World Board of Trustees initiated shortly after I took office. This Board, whose members include overseas campaign leaders, has helped to refine our administrative procedures and led to increased control and public accountability.

The re-examination of administrative and procedures is an ongoing practice at Keren Hayesod-UIA. One result is that while in 1979 we had 145 employees in Jerusalem,

today the number is 111. It has been our improved budgeting procedures which enable full disclosure of our operating costs. These and other facts were presented to our Trustees and to the Comptroller.

It is not the Comptroller's job to praise, but to criticize. We are working on implementing those parts of his criticism which may not yet have been fully implemented. Praise, however, has been expressed by leading businessmen and people of finance for the many innovations we have already introduced. They also understand that it does cost more to raise funds today for obvious reasons, although far less than the 13 per cent cited in your report.

I would gladly have discussed these and other points with your reporter, had I been asked to do so.

DR. AVRAHAM AVI-ILAI,
World Chairman,
Keren Hayesod
Jerusalem.



Minister Burg

SUMMER TIME

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — It seems to me that we are again the "Chosen People" — chosen to spend another summer without summer time. If we are to take Dr. Yusef Burg's answer to the interviewer's question at his press conference of December 22 seriously, there will be no summer time, Dr. Burg declared with absolute finality, because he has scientists' statements that it is harmful.

How come that millions of people around the world show no ill side-effects from summer time year after year? How did it happen that we survived the few, short months of an hour's extra daylight without any visible harm a couple of years ago? Not to mention the shekels saved by a lower electricity bill. Peanuts to Dr. Burg, but a tidy sum for a working man like me (and the country).

Would it not be more honest to state that summer time interferes with the religious practices of a certain minority and that Dr. Burg cares little about the majority's views?

I strongly object to having my intellect continuously insulted by a false pretence of concern for the people's welfare, which in reality is nothing but narrow-minded self-interest.

GEORGES BASNIZKI
Moshav Bet Nakofa.

NEW YEAR'S EVE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Once again, the end of the "civil" year is upon us, and with it the ludicrous attempts by various guardians of religious purity to interfere with New Year's Eve celebrations in public places.

It should be made clear once and for all that New Year's Day is not a Christian religious holiday but, in most countries of the Western world a civil legal holiday which marks the beginning of a new year in the Gregorian calendar. The celebrations culminating at midnight on December 31 have, therefore, no religious significance whatever; they are simply meant to usher in the new year in a spirit of good cheer and optimism.

The fact that, for Catholics, December 31 is the day of St. Sylvester (as every day in the year is associated with one of the Saints) has caused the merry-making to become popularly known in certain regions as Sylvester night. But this designation is completely unknown in the English-speaking world, and there is no reason why it should be attached to New Year's Eve in this country. Nor is there any reason why that part of Israel's population which uses the Gregorian calendar in everyday life should be prevented from sharing in the innocent custom of ushering in the New Year with a party.

ERNEST STOCK
Jerusalem.

PLEA FROM FAMILIES OF FALLEN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The families of the fallen of the Jewish Brigade would like to draw attention to an important national and ethical problem, namely the perpetuation of the memory of the young people of the pre-state Yishuv who gave their lives for Israel.

In accordance with the policy of our pre-state institutions, the Yishuv's sons enrolled in Jewish units during World War II and, in the course of their lengthy service, they formed the Jewish Brigade. The cream of our youth were sent on special missions in the firm conviction that, after the war, representatives of the Yishuv would participate in the subsequent negotiations on an equal footing with other nations, just as they had participated in the fight against the Nazis.

In "recognition" of their sacrifice, the State and its institutions have forgotten the tremendous contribution of these young people. They are being excluded from the

annals of our history. No decent memorial has been set up in their honour. The families of the fallen have asked for years that their names — 33 of them are still buried in remote places in Italy — should be engraved on the memorial on Mount Herzl in honour of the Yishuv's sons who fought and died abroad (This memorial carries no names at present).

On Remembrance Day, the grief of the families is magnified because their sons' graves are not in Israel and they have no place to gather to recall their memories.

The families of the fallen of the Brigade want to participate in all memorial services as a right, alongside the families of all soldiers who died in Israel's wars.

Please help us commemorate our loved ones who gave their young lives for their country, to which they did not return.

Z. SHNEOUR
(In the name of the families of the dead of the Jewish Brigade)
Tel Aviv.

ISRAEL-DIASPORA RELATIONS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — There is no question that it is Israel's, not Diaspora Jews who bear the principal burden of Israel's security. If Israel's security fails, Jews in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, not Paris and Miami, will directly suffer. But to use these truths to silence the recent criticisms by world Jewry is to totally misunderstand the relationship between Israel and the world, between Jews and Israelis.

The security of Israel is affected by events outside of the region, new alliances, broken treaties, boycotts, arms increases and cut-offs, as much as by developments in the area. The voices of international Jewry are among the few non-Israeli groups left still concerned about

Israel's security, and in a position, far better than the average Israeli, to offer advice and counsel on these developments. It is for Israel to accept them or not.

Perhaps even more to the point, whether we like it or not, Israeli actions do affect the physical security of Diaspora Jews. Israelis are not the only ones threatened by the recent upsurge of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. In fact, given the recent events in Europe and the U.S., perhaps it is the Israelis, now secure behind their borders according to Prime Minister Begin, who have no right to tell us to remain silent.

STEVEN A. LEIBO
Carlinville, Illinois.

OVERSEAS ADVICE FOR BEGIN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I listened with shock and amazement to the address of Mr. Greville Janner, President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, at the Zionist Congress. Whilst Mr. Janner may claim to speak on behalf of British Jewry, there are substantial numbers who do not agree with his views, nor with his stance vis-à-vis the Government of Israel.

Personally, I think it the height of

arrogance and impertinence to seek an Israeli platform, in full glare of the media, to advise the democratically elected Prime Minister of Israel how to formulate policies which do not inconvenience Anglo-Jewry. The prime concern of the Government of Israel is the security of the state and the welfare of its citizens.

S. WACHTEL,
Delegate to 30th Zionist Congress
Jerusalem (Manchester).

ISRAELI ACCUSATIONS AGAINST U.S.

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Your news report "Shamir accuses U.S. of breaking its pledge on aid" (December 3) can only be read with mixed feelings, to say the least.

Was not our Foreign Minister forewarned by his envoy in the United States, that the establishment of new settlements in the administered territories would bring us, at this juncture, into direct conflict with the U.S. administration? Moreover, not only did we refuse to consider President Reagan's peace plan (the other flat rejects

came from Russia, Gaddafi and the PLO — strange bedfellows for Israel) but we declared at the same time that we would set up 10 new settlements, the financing of which we apparently expected as a matter of course to come in one way or another from the U.S.

Under these circumstances, to put the blame on President Reagan for not increasing U.S. aid can only cause bitterness. The Begin-Shamir administration can be accused of many things, but lack of honesty is not one of them.

MENACHEM GOLAN

SEATING ALLOCATION AT CONGRESS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In the photograph of the opening ceremony of the 30th Zionist Congress, which appeared in your issue of December 8 there was a young man, wearing a ski jacket, jeans and cowboy boots, sitting in the first row of the Binyanei Ha'uma, two places away from the President of Israel.

Were the organizers of this dignified occasion so devoid of sense of proportion as to allot a seat to young Alion Dulzin right there, next to his father, Arye Dulzin? Were the juniors of other delegates also allotted seats in the hall next to their parents?

DAVID ORLY,
Ganei Yehuda.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1983

Waiting for Hussein to join the talks

FOR THE PAST few days the reports have been multiplying that, despite President Reagan's seeming failure last month to coax King Hussein into joining the peace talks with Israel on the basis of the Reagan interpretation of the Camp David accords, Jordan will soon make an announcement of its readiness to do just that.

That was the assessment aired in Jerusalem earlier this week by William Quandt, the National Security Council's chief Middle East expert during the Carter administration. The same forecast was repeated here yesterday, in essence, by U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas, citing information given him by officials in Cairo.

The Jordanian change of course would presumably follow another visit to the White House by King Hussein — and a scheduled meeting between President Reagan and Premier Begin.

Such reports are plainly not authoritative: Senator Tsongas, for example, is still to receive confirmation of what he has heard in Cairo from officials in Amman, where he is heading next. Some reports, too, point in the opposite direction. Thus it was possible for Foreign Minister Shamir to tell the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee that the Jordanian monarch had no immediate intention of entering the peace talks. But since immediacy is not a very precise term, this could be mere quibbling.

Israel policy-makers would in any case be well advised to proceed on the assumption that a shift in Jordan's policy is, if not in the offing, at least a distinct possibility.

King Hussein's consent to negotiate would, it is true, be hedged with a number of conditions. Once he has got Yasser Arafat to underwrite his venture, if only tacitly, the king would wish, for one thing, to include in his negotiating team some Palestinians known for their association with the PLO. So far, Israel's stand on this matter, as enunciated by the late Moshe Dayan, has been that this country would not oppose the participation of Palestinians so long as they have not made a point of flaunting their PLO loyalties. If this is still Israel's position, it need not prove an obstacle.

A far more serious matter is King Hussein's reported insistence on a freeze on Israel settlement in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as suggested in the Reagan Plan. Mr. Reagan's idea of the freeze was in fact borrowed from Mr. Carter, who thought he had secured, at Camp David, Mr. Begin's consent to it "during the negotiations concerning the establishment of Palestinian self-government." That, however, turned out to have been something of a misunderstanding.

As Mr. Begin saw it, his consent had only been given to a three-month moratorium on settlement activity in the territories pending the conclusion of a peace treaty with Egypt.

When, last September 1, Mr. Reagan revived the idea it was in conjunction with his plan for an eventual "association" between the territories, or most of their area, and Jordan. In panning the entire plan, one of Mr. Begin's arguments was that Mr. Reagan was attempting to prejudice the outcome of the five-year autonomy. But in fact the purpose of the freeze was to prevent Israel itself from unilaterally deciding the future of Judea, Samaria and Gaza through settlements — which are the means whereby Eretz Yisrael, in the words of Mr. Shamir at the Bnei Akiva convention this week, "shall all of it be ours."

Any Jordanian bid to join the peace talks on condition of a settlement freeze will, then, be flatly rejected by Premier Begin as unworthy even of consideration. King Hussein must know this. He must also be aware that unless he starts talking there will soon, as Beihleheim Mayor Freij has repeatedly warned him, be nothing to talk about. The process of incorporating the territories into Israel will have become irreversible.

What, then, would King Hussein gain from making his conditional peace bid? Perhaps he expects to drive, for once, a truly disastrous wedge between the U.S. and Israel. Perhaps, too, he hopes it will help smooth the way for Senate approval of Jordan's request for a large arms package, including planes and missiles.

In any case he would be better off than continuing to stand on the sidelines — or, conversely, endorsing the present Israeli formula, in which there is little, if anything, of interest to him.

The Friday Dry Bones



FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 1983

The truth about the economy

THE PICTURE of the economy that emerged from the report by the Central Bureau of Statistics a week ago was melancholy enough. Even more depressing, however, has been the reaction of Yoram Aridor's Treasury team to the revealed facts.

What the facts reveal is that, while the individual consumer may have never had it as good as last year, the national economy may have never had it as bad. This information should keep the alarm bells ringing day and night in the corridors of economic policy-makers. Instead, it is being taken in stride, almost as though it represented some signal achievement.

True, the gross national product, per capita, dropped three per cent, and exports fell in absolute terms for the first time in years while heavily subsidized imports rose, thus bringing the balance of payments gap to an all-time high of nearly \$5 billion. But all this, it is officially argued, must be seen in the context of the world recession.

The fact, however, is that, largely due to the recession, the prices of oil and other materials were appreciably lower last year than the year before, and that there was a 28 per cent reduction in the country's defence purchases from abroad. Nevertheless, the country's economic performance was horrendous.

Paradoxically, while the balance of payments gap widened, inflation resisted a desperate effort to bring it down. But, so the official argument runs, unemployment remained spectacularly low compared with its level in the major western countries. This is true, but it ignores the worrisome spread of concealed unemployment throughout the economy.

Reliable reports speak of industries where redundant personnel have not been laid off only in expectation of an upturn sometime soon to follow a change of government policy. In the meantime, many businessmen who see no point in expanding their plant or renovating their equipment are in effect encouraged to turn from exports to imports and to indulge in the stock exchange game.

How then does this country manage to keep head above water economically? Only, of course, through the massive infusion of funds from abroad. Thanks to massive U.S. support by way of grants and loans, credits may be obtained from other sources as well. Remove that support, and the result could be economic catastrophe.

This is the truth about Israel's economy which the Treasury would like to obscure and if possible suppress.

Coping with snow

THE SNOW on New Year's Day made us all intensely aware of how hard a time our soldiers are having in Lebanon. If snow was thick in Jerusalem and even thicker on the Golán Heights, we can imagine how severe conditions were in the mountains of Lebanon. We trust that the Israel Defence Forces emulated the speed and efficiency of the Jerusalem Municipality in modifying the dangers, distress and discomfort of the snow.

FRIDAY, JAN. 7, 1983

Navon's visit

THE DELICACY of President Navon's visit to Washington hardly requires elaboration. An Israeli president's room for manoeuvre is restricted at the best of times. The limitations on Mr. Navon and the circumspection required from him were especially strict given the political situation in Israel at this time and the intense speculation surrounding the president's future.

The fact that the stay in Washington seems to have passed off so well is a tribute to the tact and perspicacity of both guest and hosts. One out-of-place word and the media would have pounced. But there were no such slips and Mr. Navon brought credit to himself and to his country.

Very properly, he restricted himself to those issues and causes that unite the vast majority of Israelis: Jerusalem, secure and negotiated borders, peaceful relations with Lebanon, etc. On these he could speak out cogently, in private conversations with President Reagan and his aides and in public appearances.

Just as Mr. Navon focused on fundamentals, so too did President Reagan dwell on the basic verities of U.S.-Israeli friendship. This was no mere exercise in platitudes, for some of those home truths tend to be blurred in the hurly-burly of the day-to-day relationship, with its various ups and downs.

The rehearsal, by the two heads of state, of Israel's yearning for peace and of America's commitment to help her achieve it should put into proper perspective the current, hopefully transient, "down" in relations between the two governments.

The visit, and the cordiality of President Navon's reception in Washington, is an occasion to note the hollowiness and pretentiousness of the "anti-Americanism" which certain government circles here purport to affect.

Despite Defence Minister Sharon's somewhat disingenuous protestations of injured innocence on television this week, his penchant for fomenting suspicion, rancour and recrimination against the U.S. role in the region is well known — in Jerusalem and in Washington. Other senior ministers have sought, without much success, to curb what one of them termed Mr. Sharon's "war talk against the Americans, as though they were our enemy No. 1."

The success of President Navon's visit to Washington is further proof, if proof were needed, of the underlying concordance of Israel and American views and interests.